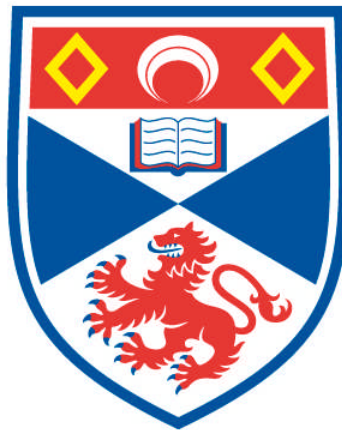


**CONFRONTING NIGHTMARES:
RESPONDING TO ICONOCLASM IN WESTERN MUSEUMS
AND ART GALLERIES**

VOLUME 1: TEXT

Helen E. Scott

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



2009

**Full metadata for this item is available in
Research@StAndrews:FullText
at:
<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>**

**Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:
<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/788>**

This item is protected by original copyright

**This item is licensed under a
Creative Commons Licence**

Confronting Nightmares:
Responding to Iconoclasm in Western
Museums and Art Galleries

Volume I: Text

Helen E. Scott

University of St Andrews
Ph.D. Thesis

2009

Declarations

I, Helen Elizabeth Scott, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 80,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in September 2005 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in March 2006; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2005 and 2009.

Date Signature of candidate

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date Signature of supervisor

In submitting this thesis to the University of St Andrews we understand that we are giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. We also understand that the title and the abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker, that my thesis will be electronically accessible for personal or research use unless exempt by award of an embargo as requested below, and that the library has the right to migrate my thesis into new electronic forms as required to ensure continued access to the thesis. We have obtained any third-party copyright permissions that may be required in order to allow such access and migration, or have requested the appropriate embargo below.

The following is an agreed request by candidate and supervisor regarding the electronic publication of this thesis:

Access to all of printed copy but embargo of all of electronic publication of thesis for a period of five years (maximum five) on the following ground: publication would preclude future publication.

Date Signature of candidate

Date Signature of supervisor

Abstract

It is not an everyday event for an artwork in a museum or gallery to be harmed deliberately by a member of the public. Such acts of iconoclasm do occur more regularly than many people might assume though, and when attacks take place the repercussions can be serious. This thesis examines the ways in which cultural institutions react to this phenomenon, investigating how responses could be improved to tackle it more effectively.

The first chapter establishes the context to the discussion by categorising and rationalising the various motives behind iconoclastic crimes. The next chapter concentrates on historical trends of response, using the case of the suffragette iconoclasts to illuminate reactions from across society, before assessing the effects of their endurance. The third chapter broaches new ground in the field of prevention by exploring the access and education approach: a means of forestalling destructive compulsions among the public by promoting engagement with cultural institutions and works of art. The fourth chapter looks at security enhancement: the more traditional answer to iconoclastic offences. It evaluates the options open to museums from a defensive standpoint, but it also discusses the wider impact of implementation on accessibility. The final chapter presents the findings of a postal survey of 250 British museums and galleries undertaken in 2006. The purpose of the survey was to gauge the current nature and extent of the problem, and to determine how contemporary museum professionals deal with it.

Although some cultural institutions respond to iconoclasm with considered, sustainable and effective tactics, others would be wise to revise their conduct. This thesis concludes that while instances of iconoclasm will never be eradicated from galleries completely, the threat could be curbed significantly if the museum sector was to make a concerted effort to study its own responses and introduce necessary changes.

Contents: Volume I

Acknowledgements	i
List of Plates	ii
List of Figures	ix
Introduction	1
Chapter One: “Wholly uninteresting”: The Motives behind Acts of Iconoclasm	21
Chapter Two: “Their campaign of wanton attacks”: Suffragette Iconoclasm and Trends of Response	81
Chapter Three: Engaging with the Enemy: Responding to Iconoclasm through Access and Education	128
Chapter Four: “Glass-cased fortresses”: Responding to Iconoclasm through Security Enhancement	175
Chapter Five: <i>Responding to Art Vandalism in British Museums and Galleries:</i> A Survey of the Current Situation	226
Conclusion	254
Bibliography	269

Acknowledgements

This research was funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. Before all else, I would like to express my gratitude for the financial support and other resources that this organisation provided.

Iconoclasm is a sensitive topic in the museum sector. It is a theme that staff often choose to keep quiet about, opting not to discuss it outwith the confines of their own institutions. For this reason I am especially grateful to those museum and gallery professionals who shared their experiences, opinions and expertise with me during the preparation of this thesis. Some requested that they should remain anonymous, and they have been thanked privately. But it seems fitting to acknowledge the others here. My most sincere thanks go to the following individuals: Louise Anderson, Hildegard Berwick, Alison Bevan, William Brown, Jon Campbell, Simon Cane, Leslie Carlyle, Nicola Christie, Alan Crookham, Lorri Dunwoody, Patrick Elliot, Jan Evans, Oliver Fairclough, Judith Gowland, Mary Griffiths, Richard Hawkes, Meera Hindocha, Sam Howard, Charlotte Hubbard, Mark Janzen, Vincent Kelly, Samantha Lackey, Michael Langston, Kathryn Legg, Nancy Loader, Alfred Longhurst, Josephine Lyons, Paul Nicoll, Roy Perry, Derek Pullen, Richard Rogers, Liz Rose, Lucia Scalisi, Michael Simpson, Penelope M. Smith, Martyn Sodergren, Lesley Stevenson, Janet Tamblin, Carolyn T. Thum, Bruce Tozer, David Trevivian, Mark Trodd, Nicola Waghorn, Leeanne Westwood, Julian Whitehead and Martin Wyld.

In a similar vein, I would also like to thank all of the institutions that took part in the survey *Responding to Art Vandalism in British Museums and Galleries*; the strong response rate was extremely encouraging.

A significant part of my research consisted of bibliographic and archival study, and many librarians and archivists were very generous in their assistance. I would like to thank staff at the British Library, the National Art Library, the National Gallery Archive, the National Library of Scotland and the University of St Andrews Library.

The School of Art History at the University of St Andrews provided a constant stream of encouragement and support throughout my research. I am extremely grateful to my supervisor Ann Gunn for her advice, enthusiasm, and flexibility. Special thanks must also go to Natalie Adamson, Ian Carradice, Annette Carruthers, Margaret Hall, Jeremy Howard, Christina Lodder, Helen Rawson and Dawn Waddell.

Ultimately, I am indebted to the circle of friends and family who have stood by me over the last few years. I would like to thank Nicola Armstrong, Chris Miller and Clancy Smith for their companionship, advice and comforting words. And my final thanks go to Ian, Elizabeth, Rob and David Scott, whose support, patience and unwavering belief in my undertaking have been invaluable.

List of Plates

- Plate 1 – Leonardo, *The Virgin and Child with St Anne and St John the Baptist*, 1499-1500, Chalk on Paper, 141.5 x 104.6cm, National Gallery, London
- Plate 2 – Pierre-Gabriel Berthault after Jean Louis le Jeune Prieur, *Les Tableaux historiques de la Révolution Française: Statue de Louis XIV Abatue, Place des Victoires, Les 11, 12, 13 Aoust 1792*, 1796, Engraving on Paper, 20 x 25.7cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris
- Plate 3 – Rembrandt, *Nightwatch*, 1642, Oil on Canvas, 363 x 437cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
- Plate 4 – Rembrandt, *Nightwatch*, 1642, Oil on Canvas, 363 x 437cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, (Detail of damage caused by Wilhelm Arie de Rijk, 14th September 1975, Black and White Photograph)
- Plate 5 – Martin Creed, *Work 227: The Lights Going On and Off*, 2000, Installation, Variable Dimensions, Tate, London
- Plate 6 – Rembrandt, *Self Portrait*, 1654, Oil on Canvas, 72 x 58.5cm, Gemäldegalerie, Kassel, (Damage caused by Hans-Joachim Böhlmann, October 1977, Black and White Photograph)
- Plate 7 – Peter Doig, *Blotter*, 1993, Oil on Canvas, 249 x 199cm, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool
- Plate 8 – Helen Frankenthaler, *The Bay*, 1963, Acrylic on Canvas, 205 x 208cm, Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit
- Plate 9 – Leonardo, *The Virgin and Child with St Anne and St John the Baptist*, 1499-1500, Chalk on Paper, 141.5 x 104.6cm, National Gallery, London, (Detail of damage caused by Robert Cambridge, 17th July 1987, Black and White Photograph)
- Plate 10 – Barnett Newman, *Who's Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue III*, 1966-1967, Acrylic on Canvas, 243.8 x 543.5cm, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam
- Plate 11 – Barnett Newman, *Who's Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue III*, 1967-1967, Acrylic on Canvas, 243.8 x 543.5cm, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, (Damage caused by Gerard Jan van Bladeren, 21st March 1986, Black and White Photograph)
- Plate 12 – Barnett Newman, *Cathedral*, 1951, Oil on Canvas, 243.8 x 541cm, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam
- Plate 13 – Ottavio Vannini, *The Triumph of David*, 1640, Oil on Canvas, 131.4 x 101.2cm, Milwaukee Art Museum, Milwaukee

- Plate 14 – Mark Hom, *David Beckham*, 2004, Cibachrome on Paper, Dimensions Unknown, Whereabouts Unknown
- Plate 15 – Diego Velázquez, *The Toilet of Venus (The Rokeby Venus)*, 1647-1651, Oil on Canvas, 122.5 x 177cm, National Gallery, London
- Plate 16 – Diego Velázquez, *The Toilet of Venus (The Rokeby Venus)*, 1647-1651, Oil on Canvas, 122.5 x 177cm, National Gallery, London, (Detail of damage caused by Mary Richardson, 10th March 1914, Black and White Photograph)
- Plate 17 – Bryan Organ, *Lady Diana Spencer (Princess of Wales)*, 1981, Acrylic on Canvas, 177.8 x 127cm, National Portrait Gallery, London
- Plate 18 – Neil Simmons, *Margaret Thatcher*, 2001, Marble, 240cm high, Whereabouts Unknown
- Plate 19 – Neil Simmons, *Margaret Thatcher*, 2001, Marble, 240cm high, Whereabouts Unknown, (Damage caused by Paul Kelleher, 3rd July 2002, Colour Photograph)
- Plate 20 – Allen Jones, *Chair*, 1969, Fibreglass, 77.5 x 57.1 x 99.1cm, Tate, London
- Plate 21 – Allen Jones, *Chair*, 1969, Fibreglass, 77.5 x 57.1 x 99.1cm, Tate, London, (Detail of damage caused by two assailants, 8th March 1986, Colour Photograph)
- Plate 22 – Peter Paul Rubens, *Fall of the Damned into Hell*, 1620-1621, Oil on Wood, 286 x 224cm, Alte Pinakothek, Munich
- Plate 23 – Peter Paul Rubens, *Fall of the Damned into Hell*, 1620-1621, Oil on Wood, 286 x 224cm, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, (Damage caused by Walter Menzl, 26th February 1959, Black and White Photograph)
- Plate 24 – Ingres, *The Sistine Chapel*, 1820, Oil on Canvas, 69 x 55cm, Louvre, Paris, (Black and White Image)
- Plate 25 – Joseph Mallord William Turner, *Sun Rising through Vapour*, Before 1807, Oil on Canvas, 134 x 179.5cm, National Gallery, London
- Plate 26 – Chris Ofili, *The Holy Virgin Mary*, 1996, Mixed Media on Linen, 243.8 x 182.9cm, The Saatchi Collection
- Plate 27 – Chris Ofili, *The Holy Virgin Mary*, 1996, Mixed Media on Linen, 243.8 x 182.9cm, The Saatchi Collection, (Dennis Heiner damaging artwork, 16th December 1999, Black and White Photograph)
- Plate 28 – Alexander Kosolapov, *This is my Blood*, 2002, Lightbox Installation, 82 x 150cm, Guelman Gallery, Moscow

- Plate 29 – Cosimo Cavallaro, *My Sweet Lord*, 2007, Mixed Media, Dimensions Unknown, Whereabouts Unknown
- Plate 30 – John Latham, *God is Great (No.2)*, 1991, Mixed Media, 245 x 140 x 54cm, Tate, London
- Plate 31 – William Adolphe Bouguereau, *The Return of Spring*, 1886, Oil on Canvas, 201.3 x 117.8cm, Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha
- Plate 32 – Marcus Harvey, *Myra*, 1995, Acrylic on Canvas, 396 x 320cm, The Saatchi Collection
- Plate 33 – Installation of ‘Sensation: Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection’, Royal Academy, London, 1997, Colour Photograph
- Plate 34 – Dror Feiler and Gunilla Sköld Feiler, *Snow White and the Madness of Truth*, 2004, Installation, 700 x 300cm, Museum of Antiquities, Stockholm
- Plate 35 – Carl Andre, *Equivalent VIII*, 1966, Firebricks, 12.7 x 68.6 x 228.9cm, Tate, London
- Plate 36 – Barnett Newman, *Who’s Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue IV*, 1969-1970, Acrylic on Canvas, 274.3 x 604.5cm, Nationalgalerie, Berlin
- Plate 37 – Michelangelo, *David*, 1501-1504, Marble, 517cm high, Galleria dell’Accademia, Florence
- Plate 38 – Michelangelo, *David*, 1501-1504, Marble, 517cm high, Galleria dell’Accademia, Florence, (Detail of damage caused by Piero Cannata, 14th September 1991, Colour Photograph)
- Plate 39 – Vincent Van Gogh, *La Berçeuse*, 1889, Oil on Canvas, 91 x 71.5cm, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam
- Plate 40 – Pablo Picasso, *Guernica*, 1937, Oil on Canvas, 349 x 776cm, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid
- Plate 41 – Pablo Picasso, *Guernica*, 1937, Oil on Canvas, 349 x 776cm, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid, (Conservator working on damage caused by Tony Shafrazi, 28th February 1974, Black and White Photograph)
- Plate 42 – Marcel Duchamp, *Replica of L.H.O.O.Q.*, 1919, from the *Boîte-en-Valise*, 1941-1942, 19.7 x 12.4cm, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, (Black and White Image)
- Plate 43 – Robert Rauschenberg, *Erased de Kooning Drawing*, 1953, Traces of Ink and Crayon on Paper, 48.3 x 36.1cm, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco

- Plate 44 – Marcel Duchamp, *Fountain*, 1917 / 1964, Porcelain Urinal, 63 x 48 x 35cm, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris
- Plate 45 – Kazimir Malevich, *Suprematism 1920-1927 (White Cross on Grey)*, 1920-1927, Oil on Canvas, 88 x 68.5cm, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam
- Plate 46 – Damien Hirst, *Away from the Flock*, 1994, Steel, Glass, Lamb and Formaldehyde Solution, 96 x 149 x 51cm, Tate, London
- Plate 47 – Tracey Emin, *My Bed*, 1998, Installation, 79 x 211 x 234cm, The Saatchi Collection
- Plate 48 – Jake and Dinos Chapman, *Insult to Injury* (One of 80 reworked etchings), 2003, Etching and Mixed Media, 37 x 47cm, Private Collection
- Plate 49 – Riot following Buckingham Palace Deputation, London, 21st May 1914, Black and White Photograph
- Plate 50 – Christabel Pankhurst at a demonstration, London, c1910, Black and White Photograph
- Plate 51 – House burned by suffragettes, Hastings, 1913, Black and White Photograph
- Plate 52 – John Singer Sargent, *Henry James*, 1913, Oil on Canvas, 85.1 x 67.3cm, National Portrait Gallery, London
- Plate 53 – John Singer Sargent, *Henry James*, 1913, Oil on Canvas, 85.1 x 67.3cm, National Portrait Gallery, London, (Detail of damage caused by Mary Wood, 4th May 1914, Black and White Photograph)
- Plate 54 – George Clausen, *Primavera*, 1914, Oil on Canvas, Dimensions Unknown, Whereabouts Unknown, (Black and White Image)
- Plate 55 – Gentile Bellini, *Portrait of a Mathematician* (or *A Man with a Pair of Dividers*), c1500, Oil on Canvas, 69.2 x 59.1cm, National Gallery, London
- Plate 56 – Giovanni Bellini, *The Death of St Peter, Martyr* (or *The Assassination of St Peter Martyr*), c1507, Tempera and Oil on Wood, 99.7 x 165.1cm, National Gallery, London
- Plate 57 – Giovanni Bellini, *The Agony in the Garden*, c1465, Tempera on Wood, 81.3 x 127cm, National Gallery, London
- Plate 58 – Giovanni Bellini, *The Madonna of the Pomegranate* (or *The Virgin and Child*), 1480-1490, Oil on Wood, 78.7 x 58.4cm, National Gallery, London
- Plate 59 – School of Gentile Bellini, *Votive Picture* (or *The Virgin and Child with Saints Christopher and John the Baptist, and Doge Giovanni Mocenigo*), 1478-1485, Oil on Canvas, 184.2 x 295.9cm, National Gallery, London

- Plate 60 – George Romney, *Master John Bensley Thornhill*, c1785, Oil on Canvas, 186.5 x 121cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
- Plate 61 – John Everett Millais, *Carlyle*, 1877, Oil on Canvas, 116.8 x 88.3cm, National Portrait Gallery, London
- Plate 62 – Mary Richardson leaving court after attack on *The Toilet of Venus (Rokeby Venus)*, London, 11th March 1914, Black and White Photograph
- Plate 63 – Auguste Rodin, *The Thinker*, 1880-1881, Bronze, 182.9 x 98.4 x 142.2cm, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, (Damage caused by anonymous assailant, 24th March 1970, Colour Photograph)
- Plate 64 – *The Times*, Newspaper cutting concerning damage to Diego Velazquez's *The Toilet of Venus (Rokeby Venus)*, 11th March 1914
- Plate 65 – Roy Lichtenstein, *Nude in Mirror*, 1994, Oil and Magna on Canvas, 254 x 213.4cm, The Rush Family Collection
- Plate 66 – Artist Unknown, *He Busted an \$18,000 Oil Painting*, 3rd January 1891, Illustration from *New York Illustrated News*
- Plate 67 – *Berliner Zeitung*, Newspaper cutting concerning damage to Barnett Newman's *Who's Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue IV*, 1982
- Plate 68 – Laszlo Toth being apprehended after attack on *Pietà*, Rome, 21st May 1972, Black and White Photograph
- Plate 69 – Claude Monet, *Le Pont d'Argenteuil*, 1874, Oil on Canvas, 60.5 x 80cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, (Damage caused by five assailants, 7th October 2007, Colour Photograph)
- Plate 70 – Claude Monet, *Le Pont d'Argenteuil*, 1874, Oil on Canvas, 60.5 x 80cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, (Detail of damage caused by five assailants, 7th October 2007, Colour Photograph)
- Plate 71 – Three-dimensional sensory model at Wolverhampton Art Gallery, Wolverhampton, mid 1990s, Black and White Photograph
- Plate 72 – Participant in 'At Home with Art' at Orleans House Gallery, Twickenham, 2000, Black and White Photograph
- Plate 73 – David Hammons, *How Ya Like Me Now?*, 1989, Acrylic on Tin and Plywood, 426.7 x 487.7cm, Private Collection, (Installation of artwork, 29th November 1989, Colour Photograph)
- Plate 74 – Installation of Cy Twombly exhibition 'Blooming', Collection Lambert, Avignon, 2007, Colour Photograph

- Plate 75 – Carl Andre, *Stone Field Sculpture*, 1977, Glacial Boulders, 16.15 x 88.39m, Hartford, Connecticut
- Plate 76 – Claude Monet, *Water-Lilies*, After 1916, Oil on Canvas, 200.7 x 426.7cm, National Gallery, London
- Plate 77 – Edvard Munch, *The Scream*, 1910, Tempera on Cardboard, 83.5 x 66cm and *Madonna*, 1893-1894, Oil on Canvas, 90 x 68.5cm, Munch Museum, Oslo, (Damage caused by theft, September 2006, Colour Photograph)
- Plate 78 – Conservator working at the Conservation Centre, Liverpool, Date Unknown, Colour Photograph
- Plate 79 – Benjamin West, *Alexander III of Scotland Rescued from the Fury of a Stag by the Intrepidity of Colin Fitzgerald*, 1786, Oil on Canvas, 366 x 521cm, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh
- Plate 80 – Rembrandt, *Danaë*, 1636-1646, Oil on Canvas, 185 x 202.7cm, Hermitage, St Petersburg
- Plate 81 – Rembrandt, *Danaë*, 1636-1646, Oil on Canvas, 185 x 202.7cm, Hermitage, St Petersburg, (Damage caused by Bronius Maigis, 15th June 1985, Colour Photograph)
- Plate 82 – Rembrandt, *Nightwatch*, 1642, Oil on Canvas, 363 x 437cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, (Conservators working on damage caused by Wilhelm Arie de Rijk, 14th September 1975, Black and White Photograph)
- Plate 83 – Pablo Picasso, *Femme Nue Devant le Jardin*, 1956, Oil on Canvas, 130 x 162cm, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam
- Plate 84 – Banksy hanging an artwork at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2005, Colour Photograph
- Plate 85 – Bulletproof glazing at the Munch Museum, Oslo, 2005, Colour Photograph
- Plate 86 – Leonardo, *Mona Lisa*, c1503-1505, Oil on Wood, 77 x 53cm, Louvre, Paris
- Plate 87 – Visitor queues at the Uffizi Gallery, Florence, 2005, Colour Photograph
- Plate 88 – Johannes Vermeer, *A Young Woman Seated at a Virginal*, c1670-1672, Oil on Canvas, 51.5 x 45.5cm, National Gallery, London
- Plate 89 – William Adolphe Bouguereau, *The Return of Spring*, 1886, Oil on Canvas, 201.3 x 117.8cm, Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, (Damage caused by Fred H. Fennelly, 11th January 1976, Black and White Photograph)
- Plate 90 – Jacques Louis David, *Cupid and Psyche*, 1817, Oil on Canvas, 184.2 x 241.6cm, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland

Plate 91 – Rembrandt, *Self Portrait at the Age of 63*, 1669, Oil on Canvas, 86 x 70.5cm, National Gallery, London

Plate 92 – Salvador Dalí, *Christ of St John of the Cross*, 1951, Oil on Canvas, 205 x 116cm, Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow

Plate 93 – Three Chinese Vases, Qing Dynasty, Porcelain, Dimensions Unknown, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

Plate 94 – Three Chinese Vases, Qing Dynasty, Porcelain, Dimensions Unknown, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, (Conservator working on damage caused by Nick Flynn, 25th January 2006, Colour Photograph)

List of Figures

Figure 1 – Pie chart for Question 1.1 ‘Your name’

Figure 2 – Pie chart for Question 1.2 ‘Your position within institution’

Figure 3 – Pie chart for Question 1.3 ‘Institution name’

Figure 4 – Pie chart for Question 1.4 ‘Institution type’

Figure 5 – Pie chart for Question 2.1 ‘Approximately how many instances of art vandalism have occurred in your institution?’

Figure 6 – Pie chart for Question 2.2 ‘How many instances of art vandalism have occurred within the last 10 years (since January 1997)?’

Figure 7a – Bar graph for Question 2.3 ‘Which of the following types of art vandalism have occurred within the last 10 years?’

Figure 7b – List of answers recorded as ‘Other’ for Question 2.3 ‘Which of the following types of art vandalism have occurred within the last 10 years?’

Figure 8a – Bar graph for Question 2.4 ‘Which of the following types of artwork have suffered vandalism within the last 10 years?’

Figure 8b – List of answers recorded as ‘Other’ for Question 2.4 ‘Which of the following types of artwork have suffered vandalism within the last 10 years?’

Figure 9a – Bar graph for Question 2.5 ‘Which of the following types of subject matter of artwork have suffered vandalism within the last 10 years?’

Figure 9b – List of answers recorded as ‘Other’ for Question 2.5 ‘Which of the following types of subject matter of artwork have suffered vandalism within the last 10 years?’

Figure 10 – Bar graph for Question 2.6 ‘Which of the following ages of artwork have suffered vandalism within the last 10 years?’

Figure 11 – Pie chart for Question 2.7 ‘Any other comments on the identities of damaged artworks, the actions of assailants, the extent of damage caused, etc?’

Figure 12 – Pie chart for Question 3.1 ‘Were the majority of assailants identified?’

Figure 13 – Pie chart for Question 3.2 ‘Were the majority of assailants criminally prosecuted?’

Figure 14 – Pie chart for Question 3.3 ‘If the majority of assailants were criminally prosecuted, were the majority of prosecutions successful in outcome?’

Figure 15 – Pie chart for Question 3.4 ‘If the majority of prosecutions were successful in outcome, what sentences did assailants receive?’

Figure 16 – Pie chart for Question 3.5 ‘Were security procedures in your institution enhanced as a direct consequence of these attacks?’

Figure 17a – Bar graph for Question 3.6 ‘If security procedures were enhanced as a direct consequence of these attacks, what types of procedures were enhanced?’

Figure 17b – List of answers recorded as ‘Other’ for Question 3.6 ‘If security procedures were enhanced as a direct consequence of these attacks, what types of procedures were enhanced?’

Figure 18 – Pie chart for Question 3.7 ‘Were visitor educational projects implemented as a direct consequence of these attacks?’

Figure 19 – Bar graph for Question 3.8 ‘If visitor educational projects were implemented as a direct consequence of these attacks, what types of projects were implemented?’

Figure 20a – Bar graph for Question 3.9 ‘Has your institution responded to these attacks in any other ways?’

Figure 20b – List of answers recorded as ‘Other’ for Question 3.9 ‘Has your institution responded to these attacks in any other ways?’

Figure 21a – Bar graph for Question 4.1 ‘What are the main motivations behind art vandalism?’

Figure 21b – List of answers recorded as ‘Other’ for Question 4.1 ‘What are the main motivations behind art vandalism?’

Figure 22 – Pie chart for Question 4.2 ‘Do you think that the main motivations behind instances of art vandalism have altered within the last 10 years?’

Figure 23 – Pie chart for Question 4.3 ‘How do you think the frequency of instances of art vandalism has altered within the last 10 years?’

Figure 24 – Pie chart for Question 4.4.1 ‘How effective do you believe the measure of placing attendants in each room is in preventing future occurrences of art vandalism?’

Figure 25 – Pie chart for Question 4.4.2 ‘How effective do you believe the measure of implementing changes in methods of interpreting collections is in preventing future occurrences of art vandalism?’

Figure 26 – Pie chart for Question 4.4.3 ‘How effective do you believe the measure of implementing compulsory bag searches is in preventing future occurrences of art vandalism?’

Figure 27 – Pie chart for Question 4.4.4 ‘How effective do you believe the measure of implementing compulsory cloakrooms is in preventing future occurrences of art vandalism?’

Figure 28 – Pie chart for Question 4.4.5 ‘How effective do you believe the measure of implementing conspicuous physical deterrents (e.g. glazing, rope barriers) is in preventing future occurrences of art vandalism?’

Figure 29 – Pie chart for Question 4.4.6 ‘How effective do you believe the measure of implementing inconspicuous physical deterrents (e.g. floor surfaces, lighting) is in preventing future occurrences of art vandalism?’

Figure 30 – Pie chart for Question 4.4.7 ‘How effective do you believe the measure of organising exhibits / displays on related themes (e.g. restoration of damaged art) is in preventing future occurrences of art vandalism?’

Figure 31 – Pie chart for Question 4.4.8 ‘How effective do you believe the measure of producing museum publications on related themes is in preventing future occurrences of art vandalism?’

Figure 32 – Pie chart for Question 4.4.9 ‘How effective do you believe the measure of organising outreach workshops / discussions with visitor groups is in preventing future occurrences of art vandalism?’

Figure 33 – Pie chart for Question 4.4.10 ‘How effective do you believe the measure of organising press collaborations on related themes is in preventing future occurrences of art vandalism?’

Figure 34 – Pie chart for Question 4.4.11 ‘How effective do you believe the measure of implementing proximity alarms is in preventing future occurrences of art vandalism?’

Figure 35 – Pie chart for Question 4.4.12 ‘How effective do you believe the measure of increasing staff vigilance is in preventing future occurrences of art vandalism?’

Figure 36 – Pie chart for Question 4.4.13 ‘How effective do you believe the measure of implementing surveillance cameras is in preventing future occurrences of art vandalism?’

Figure 37 – Pie chart for Question 4.4.14 ‘How effective do you believe the measure of implementing user-friendly procedures for visitor comments is in preventing future occurrences of art vandalism?’

Figure 38a – Bar graph for Question 4.5 ‘What impact do enhanced security measures have on the average visitor’s experience of museums and galleries?’

Figure 38b – Key for Question 4.5 ‘What impact do enhanced security measures have on the average visitor’s experience of museums and galleries?’

Figure 39a – Bar graph for Question 4.6 ‘What effect does lack of resources have on the efforts of museums and galleries to combat art vandalism?’

Figure 39b – Key for Question 4.6 ‘What effect does lack of resources have on the efforts of museums and galleries to combat art vandalism?’

Figure 40a – Bar graph for Question 4.7 ‘What impact does press / media interest in art vandalism have on the efforts of museums and galleries to combat this problem?’

Figure 40b – Key for Question 4.7 ‘What impact does press / media interest in art vandalism have on the efforts of museums and galleries to combat this problem?’

Figure 41a – Bar graph for Question 4.8 ‘Any further thoughts or opinions on the subject of art vandalism?’

Figure 41b – Key for Question 4.8 ‘Any further thoughts or opinions on the subject of art vandalism?’

Introduction

Philip Hendy's tone was grave when he made a statement to the press on 27th June 1962. As Director of the National Gallery, it was his responsibility to confirm the events that had occurred there that afternoon. A valuable drawing by Leonardo had been removed from display and transferred to the conservation department, and a 56-year-old German artist had been arrested. The incident that triggered these events was outrageous, but not altogether surprising. "We always knew that something like this might happen", Hendy conceded, "It is the nightmare of all gallery directors".¹ This "nightmare" was an act of iconoclasm.

The Royal Academy had owned Leonardo's *Virgin and Child with St Anne and St John the Baptist* since 1779 (Plate 1). On 10th March 1962 it was announced that the work would be sold at auction, and the National Art Collections Fund (NACF) launched a public appeal for its purchase. For the duration of the campaign the Leonardo Cartoon was exhibited at the National Gallery, while efforts were made to raise £800,000.²

Franz Weng came to public attention as the appeal neared its deadline. On 27th June the artist made his way through the crowded gallery, approached the drawing, and hurled an unopened bottle of ink at it. The Cartoon's Perspex screen deflected the bottle, which did not smash, and Weng was restrained by attendants before he could throw another.³ The artwork was spared any major harm; damage was confined to a small chain of scratches beneath where the missile had cracked the protective screen. Nevertheless, it was a lucky escape. After the assault, Weng expressed his frustration that the bottle had not broken, and declared that he "would do it again" given the chance.⁴ Although his motive was never determined fully, his destructive intentions were quite apparent.⁵

The drama subsided over the next ten days. Weng was held in custody while the Cartoon returned to display. The acquisition appeal continued, and on 31st July the NACF secured its target with the aid of a government grant.

This "nightmare" was not as severe as it might have been. Yet it would be wrong to dismiss Hendy's choice of words as melodramatic. The attack had both short and long term repercussions for the National Gallery. In its initial wake, the Cartoon required conservation treatment and a new, thicker Perspex screen had to be

commissioned. Some months later, an international committee of experts was summoned to advise how the fragile work could be exhibited safely in the future.⁶ The incident caused the National Gallery's reputation to suffer by highlighting the vulnerability of the collections, and some staff became anxious about mentioning the matter in the public domain.⁷ It could even be argued that Weng's act came close to jeopardising the acquisition itself. £359,610 was collected in the three months preceding his assault, but, afterwards, donations fell sharply and only another £40,000 could be raised. Without a last minute government contribution of £350,000, the necessary sum would not have been met.⁸ The consequences of an iconoclastic episode can be nightmarish even when the immediate outcome is not.

The 1962 attack on the Leonardo Cartoon was an exceptional event, and similar offences are rare. However, less audacious assaults on less famous artworks are an enduring concern for many museums and galleries. Indeed, although incidents tend not to occur on a regular basis, no cultural institution is immune to the risk of iconoclasm.⁹ And when an assailant strikes, it can affect finances, security, public relations and staff morale. This is in addition to the material cost to the targeted artwork, and the cultural loss that may result.

This thesis sets out to illuminate the threat of iconoclasm in Western museums and art galleries, and explore responses to it. Its aim is to assist in developing methods of prevention. Assuming that the problem is not insurmountable, the central tenet of this study is that response offers a key to curbing the crime. It suggests that if cultural institutions react in a more informed and focused manner they could reduce the rate of attacks and the severity of repercussions. The driving questions can be summarised thus: what are the different modes of response adopted by galleries, and how could these be improved? By providing some answers, and encouraging further discussion, it is hoped that this research will equip the museum sector to deal with the issue more effectively. With the necessary knowledge and understanding it could take steps to confront "the nightmare of all gallery directors" in a considered, potent and durable way.

In its broadest sense, the deliberate damage or destruction of art is a familiar research subject. It is tackled most often from a historical angle, as a symptom of religious or political revolt. Traditionally, historians have concentrated on four main eras: the Byzantine 'Quarrel of the Images', the Reformation, the French Revolution, and the collapse of Communism in the Soviet Union.

Iconoclasm surfaced in 8th century Byzantium as a result of tensions over the use of art in the Christian Orthodox Church and the influence exercised by the cult of images. When the veneration of icons was condemned as heresy by Emperor Constantine V, art objects were destroyed and their defenders persecuted. Although the iconophiles triumphed ultimately, this dispute carried on for decades as a succession of ecumenical councils were convened, their judgements ratified and then later overturned.¹⁰ In the 16th century the permissibility of religious images came into question again as the Reformation swept across Europe. This time iconoclasm was instigated by popular uprising rather than official policy. Churches were raided by lay members, leaving altarpieces, sculptures and decorative furnishings smashed.¹¹ During the French Revolution iconoclasm assumed a political character. Monuments and sculptures of the *Ancien Régime* were mutilated and destroyed, first as surrogate victims of public disaffection, and then to denote the deconstruction of the old order. Significantly, art was attacked because of what it represented, not because it was art.¹² Similar circumstances arose in Eastern Europe and Russia in the early 1990s. The demise of Communism after the fall of the Berlin Wall led to the demolition of much public statuary depicting Lenin, Stalin and other Party officials.¹³

Each of these episodes was an important milestone in the evolution of iconoclasm. But while the above chronology identifies key phases, it does not provide a comprehensive reading of the phenomenon. In recent years scholars have begun to investigate other periods of wreckage, fleshing out the historical narrative. For instance, the disfigurement of hieroglyphs in Ancient Egypt is now receiving attention, as is the destruction of saints' images in early 20th century Mexico.¹⁴ The field is diversifying gradually beyond its conventional confines. It is not just certain time-frames that have experienced academic neglect; the entire concept of iconoclasm occurring outwith the context of mass religious or political turmoil has also been under-explored. Research into independent attacks in museums and galleries is particularly thin.

In 2002 Gridley McKim-Smith complained that iconoclasm in cultural institutions was “not an easy topic to research”.¹⁵ She suggested that part of the trouble lay in the scarcity of in-depth literature on the subject. A bibliographic overview verifies this point. Brief articles on specific instances of damage are relatively commonplace, especially in art magazines and newspapers. However, most are factual summaries that stop short of critical analysis. Only a small number of

authors have attempted to draw different cases together and scrutinise this type of assault as a phenomenon in its own right.

Julius Held trialled this approach in 1963. His article 'Alteration and Mutilation of Works of Art' outlines a range of iconoclastic practices, and warns that they are an ongoing danger rather than a historical concern.¹⁶ This effort could not be described as thorough; Held deals exclusively with paintings, and is often sidetracked by offences committed outside the gallery setting. Even so, his work made inroads into the complex matter of motivation, laying foundations for David Freedberg's *Iconoclasts and their Motives*.

Freedberg's text was published in 1985, but it remains one of the most detailed examinations of crimes carried out by lone assailants in museums.¹⁷ It has shortcomings too. Freedberg is essentially preoccupied by figurative art, affording little time to abstract or avant-garde targets.¹⁸ Some of his arguments also seem exaggerated, such as the proposal that many iconoclasts act to liberate themselves from the power that images wield.¹⁹ Nevertheless, it established the subject as a serious topic of debate.

Over the next decade the problem attracted further interest and some fresh perspectives. 'Crimes Against Art: Social Meanings and Symbolic Attacks' by Gary Fine and Deborah Shatin was a significant contribution.²⁰ Portraying iconoclasm as an opportunity to construct symbolic meaning, this article compares perpetrators' explanations for attacks with guardians' interpretations of them. It only addresses four destructive episodes though. The scope of Christopher Cordess and Maja Turcan's 'Art Vandalism' is much more ambitious.²¹ This 1993 report considers the prevalence and patterns of incidents in sixty institutions using quantitative data. Stephen Goss's *A Guide to Art Vandalism Tools, Their History and Their Use* also highlights a wealth of case studies. Unfortunately, the value of this anthology is undermined by factual inaccuracies.²²

Dario Gamboni became a leading figure in the field when he published *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution* in 1997.²³ This comprehensive volume traces the development of iconoclasm from the French Revolution to present day, and dedicates a whole chapter to violence against art in museums. It is best known for its analysis of assaults on modern art and cases stimulated by incomprehension.

Since Gamboni's breakthrough, there has been a marked increase in research relating to iconoclasm in general. A group of scholars has begun re-assessing the very character of the experience. They suggest that iconoclasm is best understood as a transformative process, as opposed to a wholly destructive one; a notion that hints at a creative capacity.²⁴ Yet despite this flurry of recent activity, attacks in galleries have received only fleeting acknowledgement. They are mentioned in the introduction to *Iconoclasm: Contested Objects, Contested Terms*, but are not pursued in any of the articles.²⁵

If studies into this concern are uncommon, those that investigate different responses to it are virtually non-existent. The only aspect of response that is tackled with any frequency is conservation work. Reports like 'The Munich Dürer Attack' publicise cutting-edge techniques for treating mutilated artworks.²⁶ However, they rarely offer advice on avoiding future assaults. Means of preventing incidents are sometimes discussed in museum security manuals. These publications present a narrow range of options though, and they tend to be more interested in reducing art theft.²⁷

Considering this bibliographical backdrop, the scope for expansion is clear. This thesis builds on existing knowledge of offences, and fills a gap in the research field by concentrating on the concept of response.

Potentially, iconoclasm is a vast topic. In 2007 Stacy Boldrick and Richard Clay remarked on its breadth, concluding that any project in the field "has to be focused if it is to be significant".²⁸ Adopting a focus obliges researchers to set thematic boundaries, and to exclude certain areas and issues from their work. Since omissions can cause confusion, it is necessary to clarify the parameters of this study, and explain exactly what is meant by 'responding to iconoclasm in Western museums and art galleries'.

The most obvious parameter concerns the locations where attacks take place. Iconoclasts strike in a variety of settings, from chapels to embassies, from homes to shopping centres. This investigation is restricted to museums and galleries: establishments also referred to as cultural institutions. Within these premises, attention is centred on spaces used for public display. Therefore, the project considers both assaults perpetrated indoors among exhibits and assaults committed outdoors in sculpture gardens. Incidents that take place 'behind the scenes', in museum stores for instance, fall beyond its remit. Although some high profile episodes have occurred in

churches, analysis does not extend in this direction. Nor does it deal with attacks in outdoor civic locations like town squares.²⁹ The focus remains on museums and galleries in Western countries, essentially those in Europe and North America.

Chronological boundaries are determined by the history of cultural institutions. The Palais du Louvre's collections went on public view for the first time in August 1793. Revising the building's function was one of many contemporary efforts intended to save France's artistic patrimony from iconoclastic obliteration. While the origins of museums can be traced back to the 16th century, the Louvre was the first venue of its kind to make fine art freely accessible to the general populace. As Carol Duncan says, it provided "the prototype of the public art museum".³⁰ For this reason, 1793 marks the natural starting point for an inquiry into iconoclasm in galleries. This research addresses episodes that have arisen since.³¹

In terms of the targets of attacks, the project is only concerned with the damage or destruction of fine art objects, namely paintings, drawings, photographs, sculptures and installations. It does not look at assaults on historical artefacts or applied art. Thus, examples like the breakage of the Portland Vase are not covered.³² Damage done to the structural fabric of museum buildings is another issue excluded from discussion.

As for the identities of culprits, it concentrates on members of the public. Some crimes carried out by groups are examined, but most cases feature lone visitors. Iconoclasts who are either guardians or owners of their targets are not investigated. This omits attacks undertaken by gallery staff, such as the disfigurement of Roy Lichtenstein's painting *Curtains* by a museum guard in 1993.³³ It is extremely unusual for owners to injure artworks that belong to them when they are housed inside cultural institutions. Nonetheless, collectors have been known to behave in this way in private settings, so it is important to stress that this aspect is left out too.³⁴

Finally, the act of injury itself is subject to parameters. To be included in this study, acts have to involve conscious interference. This principle applies to a range of behaviours, from an outright assault on an exhibit to inquisitive touching. Many would not count damage brought about by touching as iconoclasm. However, this research supports Gamboni's assertion that even very minor interventions can be enough to ruin some artworks.³⁵ Whether harm derives from the urge to destroy or the urge to explore, the crucial point is that the visitor's manipulation of the art is conscious, in a setting where such activity is prohibited. Accidental damage is not

addressed. Although accidents can be a serious problem, their causes differ from the causes of iconoclasm, and preventative measures tend to be more straightforward.³⁶ Sometimes it can be difficult to tell whether or not interference is accidental. When harm is noticed only after the event, it poses a particular challenge for museums. There are ways of determining what has happened though. CCTV footage can provide valuable evidence, and the nature of the damage is often a strong indication in its own right.

The concept of response also requires some clarification. Ultimately, this thesis is not concerned with how galleries react in the immediate aftermath of a case of iconoclasm. There are various publications that describe the initial steps they should take.³⁷ Indeed, these procedures are quite self-evident. The perpetrator should be apprehended and detained if possible; attempts should be made to find them if they have fled. The police should be called immediately.³⁸ Conservation staff must be summoned to assess the extent of the damage, photograph the artwork *in situ*, and carry out any treatment that will stop injuries from worsening. The location of the assault ought to be sealed off temporarily. Any witnesses should be asked to remain, while other visitors should be reassured if necessary. The details of an emergency routine will vary depending on the institution and the nature of the act, but the basic form is fairly standard.

This study does not dwell on such activities. It investigates more long-term responses; strategies which surface after the initial event has passed. These reactions can be either practical or attitudinal, and they relate to a range of spheres, including public relations, education, security, management, conservation and research. Some of them aim to prevent future attacks, whereas others are exercises in damage limitation. Some represent well-established trends, and others embody progressive ideas that have yet to develop fully.

In this sense, the project analyses how galleries deal with the experience of iconoclasm. But there is another layer to the concept of response: reactions to the threat of iconoclasm. This research also examines how institutions confront the phenomenon as a potential risk to collections. It considers pre-emptive responses; measures taken to forestall incidents and avoid “the nightmare of all gallery directors” in the first place. Consequently, discussion is not restricted to the conduct of museums that have been targets in the past. It explores approaches being practiced across the entire sector.

Having defined the research area, it seems inevitable that questions will be raised over terminology. Many people would call the conscious injury of a gallery exhibit ‘art vandalism’. So why is the expression ‘iconoclasm’ used instead?

The word ‘vandalism’ comes from *vandalisme*, a term that originated during the French Revolution. For years it was thought that Henri Grégoire coined it in his *Rapport sur les inscriptions des monuments publics*, which was presented to the National Convention on 11th January 1794. It certainly became established through a series of reports that he produced for the Convention later that year. In these three accounts, Grégoire detailed the scale of artistic destruction being undertaken at the time and means of reducing it; *vandalisme* was a key concept.³⁹ However, scholars now believe that the term was devised by Joseph Lakanal, who included it in an earlier report of 4th June 1793.⁴⁰

Both Grégoire and Lakanal used the word *vandalisme* in the same way: to describe the extremes that some revolutionaries were going to in their bid to remove all visual reminders of the *Ancien Régime*. They also used it for the same purpose: to condemn this behaviour. Artistic heritage had been relatively well preserved in the initial stages of the Revolution, but after the collapse of the monarchy in August 1792 a three-year spate of wreckage ensued. Statuary on public buildings was smashed and monuments were torn down (Plate 2).⁴¹ Accusing those responsible of *vandalisme* was an attempt to distance “the fair name of the Revolution” from these events.⁴² According to Grégoire and Lakanal, people who ruined art were set apart from the civilised world, and, as such, they were enemies of the new order. This assertion was reinforced on etymological grounds. *Vandalisme* derives from ‘Vandal’, the name of the tribe that sacked Rome in 455AD. The Vandals were regarded traditionally as the destroyers of Roman civilisation, and by the 17th century they had become synonymous with ignorance, barbarism and spoilage.⁴³ Grégoire and Lakanal’s phraseology alluded to this deliberately.

On a superficial level, ‘vandalism’ seems a reasonable term to use in this study. Yet its historical associations present difficulties. It cannot be divorced from its stigmatising roots; it always implies crudeness and stupidity. Moreover, it suggests that the act of mutilation is meaningless.⁴⁴ Terminology is important. As Boldrick and Clay point out, “our choice of terms can be indicative of, and encourage us to maintain, particular assumptions and can relate to our tendency to ask particular questions, privileging certain connections and overlooking others”.⁴⁵ For research to

be objective, its terminology must be objective. Most modern-day scholars avoid ‘art vandalism’ because it is too pejoratively loaded.

‘Iconoclasm’ has quite different origins. It comes from the combination of two Greek words: *eikon*, meaning ‘image’, and *klastes*, meaning ‘breaker’.⁴⁶ It first emerged in theological debates during the ‘Quarrel of the Images’ in 8th century Byzantium. Like ‘vandalism’, this expression was devised by the defenders of art, in criticism of its destroyers.⁴⁷ However, it has not entered modern usage with such derogatory connotations. ‘Iconoclasm’ does not evoke meaningless behaviour. Purpose can be imagined behind even the most spontaneous, strange or violent attacks if they are defined in this way. To quote Gamboni, the term gives perpetrators “a right to attain intelligibility”.⁴⁸ A ‘vandal’ invites instant disparagement, whereas an ‘iconoclast’ could be worthy of discussion.

This is not to say that ‘iconoclasm’ is completely neutral or problem-free. Some historians only employ the word when referring to the destruction of sacred images. When introduced in a secular context, religious implications often remain. As a result, ‘iconoclasm’ “constructs and constrains the field of study” and supports certain assumptions too.⁴⁹ The strength of these associations has waned over time. As of the mid 17th century the expression lost its exclusive relationship with the Byzantine dispute, and became accepted as meaning opposition towards Christian images in general. Since the 1860s it has been applicable to any attack on cultural orthodoxy.⁵⁰ Gamboni insists that ‘iconoclasm’ is now understood to denote the damage or destruction of any work of art, and that there is no longer an automatic connection with religion.⁵¹ Many people would still make this inference though.

Recent studies have also drawn attention to the emphasis on breaking that is inherent in the word. Boldrick and Clay argue that ‘iconoclasm’ is problematic because it indicates that the act is wholly reductive, and thereby obscures any productive dimension.⁵² Clay suggests ‘sign transformation’ as a more accurate alternative. He illustrates the point by analysing the treatment of Edme Bouchardon’s statue *Louis XV*. Prior to the French Revolution, *Louis XV* was disfigured with graffiti in such a way that the signifier gained a further layer of symbolic meaning.⁵³ Although this incident was destructive, it was also creative. Its duality is significant, but is easy to overlook if the episode is defined as ‘iconoclasm’.

The semiotic approach is interesting, and ‘sign transformation’ is a valuable phrase. However, Clay’s theory creates a diversion from the immediate problem

facing cultural institutions. A large part of a gallery's *raison d'être* is to provide a sanctuary where art may be preserved for posterity. When an exhibit is damaged through conscious interference this function is undermined, so museums will always experience such events as being predominantly reductive. Referring to 'sign transformation' in these circumstances seems disingenuous; it sidelines the practical consequences of the deed and belittles the harm done.

All of the aforementioned terms are contentious in some respect. A universally acceptable label has not yet been found. 'Iconoclasm' is used here because it is the most appropriate option for an objective study into incidents in museums.⁵⁴

Making choices is an intrinsic part of research, and perhaps the most fundamental decisions are related to methodology. This thesis is the product of four distinct approaches, each selected to illuminate the subject matter in a different way. They warrant some explanation.

An examination of bibliographic and archival material was undertaken to build a basic framework of knowledge on past instances of iconoclasm and modes of response. While this involved consulting books, journals and reports, the most valuable sources often proved to be newspaper cuttings and their online equivalents. These provided the essential facts of episodes, descriptions of damage and statements from relevant parties. With certain cases of destruction, they were the only written accounts available.⁵⁵ Although reliance on press articles was sometimes unavoidable, they were not exempt from scrutiny. On the contrary, biases and limitations were considered, as was the possibility of error. News sources were cross-referenced to minimise the risk of inaccuracy. Archival records, such as letters, memoranda and minutes of meetings, were treated similarly. The majority of primary material was found in the British Library, the National Library of Scotland, the National Gallery Archive and the National Art Library. Many photocopied documents were also supplied by correspondents.

Establishing contact with museum professionals was another approach. It afforded the research a greater depth of insight and a contemporary edge. Curators, conservators, heads of security, archivists and press officers received letters, emails and telephone enquiries requesting their experiences and opinions. Despite concerns that it would be difficult to persuade staff to discuss the subject, many responded with invaluable anecdotes and suggestions. A few institutions did not wish to get involved

for reasons of security and confidentiality.⁵⁶ Nonetheless, positive contact was made with over forty galleries in the UK and USA. Some correspondences prepared the way for interviews, for instance with the National Security Adviser at the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA).⁵⁷ These were particularly rewarding.

The third approach dealt specifically with case studies. A computer database was produced to compile, compare and contextualise incidents of iconoclasm, and thereby rationalise the problem. Details of episodes were gathered from literature and verbal accounts, allowing 240 instances of damage or destruction to be documented.⁵⁸ Records featured the dates of attacks, their locations, assailants and targets. Where possible, information was obtained on weapons, motives, perpetrators' backgrounds and any statements made. The content of the database could not be evaluated statistically because evidence had not been collected systematically. Even so, it indicated general trends among offences and helped to establish connections between cases.

A more scientific approach was embarked upon with the organisation of a postal survey of 250 cultural institutions. This route was taken to generate some quantitative data, which would compliment the qualitative outcomes of the other methods. Questionnaires were designed and piloted, their distribution and return was coordinated, and the results were collated and analysed.⁵⁹ Prior to this enterprise, few surveys had been conducted into iconoclasm in museums, and none had looked at responses. The scale of the survey was also innovative; Cordess and Turcan's earlier study 'Art Vandalism' dealt with only 92 institutions.⁶⁰ This approach not only gave quantitative substance to developing hypotheses, it broke new ground in the research field.

Employing several investigative methods allowed a fuller understanding of the phenomenon to be gained. The information gleaned from archives was quite different from that attained through correspondences. The knowledge acquired in compiling the database varied from that earned by conducting the survey. All four methodological threads sustained and shaped the thesis itself.

Chapter One begins by addressing the motives behind acts of iconoclasm. It starts with the premise that motives are overlooked by museums fairly regularly, and goes on to explain that recognising them can be a valuable preventative aid. A variety of rationales are categorised and analysed. The circumstances that put certain institutions and exhibits at risk are identified.

Chapter Two examines historical trends of response to the issue, and assesses the effects of their endurance. Using the suffragettes' iconoclastic campaign as a backdrop, it looks at how society reacted to offences in 1914, before drawing connections with more recent episodes.

Attention then focuses on contemporary preventative strategies. Chapter Three explores how iconoclasm can be tackled through public access and educational projects. This is a largely untested solution. Therefore, comparable schemes in the wider community are discussed, as are gallery ventures run to promote involvement and learning as part of general policy. An argument is made for applying these models to the specific problem of assaults on art.

Chapter Four considers the common practice of countering attacks by enhancing security measures. Its central concern is the dual responsibility held by galleries: to preserve collections and to encourage public engagement with them. Bearing this balancing act in mind, it evaluates the effectiveness of a range of protective techniques and investigates their impact on ordinary visitors.

The thesis ends by outlining the current situation for museums. Chapter Five concentrates on the survey of 250 cultural institutions. It follows the thematic structure of the questionnaire, determining the nature and extent of the problem and then addressing professional responses to it. Unlike the other chapters, this one assumes a report format. It presents the full findings of the survey and concludes with a set of recommendations.

While this project covers some key facets of its subject area, it is neither exhaustive nor definitive. Responding to iconoclasm in Western museums and galleries is a broad and complex theme, and the further research delves, the more knowledge gaps are exposed. The absence of statistical data is a particular concern; it is reflected in the thesis. Although the final chapter is based on the quantitative results of an analytical inquiry, the others rely for the most part on subjective evidence: the theories of a small group of scholars, surviving written records, and a vast number of anecdotes. It is unusual for museums to keep their own statistics or conduct their own research in this field. More surveys, systematic investigations and practical trials must be undertaken before it can be claimed that the problem and its solutions are understood fully.

Various topics should be earmarked for this kind of study in the future. For instance, the relationship between iconoclasm and mental illness requires a thorough

evaluation. A link between the two is often assumed, but has never been substantiated. The ways in which ordinary visitors are influenced by increased gallery security also warrants a separate analysis. Sources suggest that people can be intimidated by certain measures, yet there are no firm facts on the matter. The access and education approach to preventing attacks is another subject awaiting practical appraisal. Until pilot schemes are initiated and assessed, it seems unlikely that the sector will take full advantage of this method. And, perhaps most importantly, there is a need to establish the true extent of iconoclastic crime itself. Its scale in the UK is starting to become apparent, but what about other Western nations? Though these issues are highlighted here, it has not been possible to address them in the depth that is, ultimately, necessary.

This thesis does not try to provide all the answers, but it constitutes a step in the right direction towards improving responses. Curbing iconoclasm, like reducing any threat, is a gradual process. This research aims to give museums and galleries a foothold on the problem, and embolden them to take the next step.

References

- ¹ – Anonymous: ‘Bottle of Ink Thrown at Leonardo’, *The Times*, 28th June 1962, p-
- ² – For further reading on the history of the Leonardo Cartoon and its 1962 acquisition campaign see:
 Boggan, Steve: ‘The Invisible Mending’, *The Independent on Sunday*, 17th November 1991, p-
 Braham, Allan: ‘The Restoration of the Leonardo Cartoon: Introduction’, *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, Volume 13, 1989, pp5-6
 Hutchison, Sidney C.: *The History of the Royal Academy 1768-1968*, London, 1968, pp192-194
- ³ – For further details of this attack see:
 Boggan: ‘The Invisible Mending’, p-
 Harding, Eric and Oddy, Andrew: ‘Leonardo da Vinci’s Cartoon *The Virgin and Child with St Anne and St John the Baptist*’, *The Art of the Conservator*, ed. Andrew Oddy, London, 1992, p34
 Held, Julius S.: ‘Alteration and Mutilation of Works of Art’, *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Volume 62, Number 1, Winter 1963, p4
 Hutchison: *The History of the Royal Academy*, p193
 Anonymous: ‘Bottle of Ink Thrown at Leonardo’, p-
 Anonymous: ‘Leonardo Damage Charge’, *The Times*, 29th June 1962, p-
- ⁴ – Anonymous: ‘Leonardo Damage Charge’, p-
- ⁵ – Weng’s motives have been a subject of debate for some years. In court he made a series of convoluted statements that his behaviour had been an attempt to carry out “the will of God”. See:
 Anonymous: ‘Leonardo Damage Charge’, p-
 He was eventually diagnosed as suffering from paranoid schizophrenia. Nevertheless, Peter Fuller, who met Weng whilst running occupational therapy art classes for the mentally ill in the 1960s, insists that he was protesting at the high monetary value of the Cartoon and highlighting the “plight of unknown artists who could not sell their work”. See:
 Fuller, Peter: ‘The Psychology of the Ripper’, *New Society*, 31st July 1987, p14
- ⁶ – This work undertaken behind the scenes is described in:
 Elam, Caroline: ‘The Leonardo Cartoon’, *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume 129, Number 1014, September 1987, p571
 Wyld, Martin: ‘The Restoration of the Leonardo Cartoon: The History of the Cartoon’, *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, Volume 13, 1989, p13
 Anonymous: ‘Leonardo on View Again’, *The Times*, 6th July 1962, p-
- ⁷ – See Chapter Two.
- ⁸ – The chairman of the National Art Collections Fund told the *Times* that average daily donations fell from £150 to £35 in the weeks following the attack. See:
 Anonymous: ‘Leonardo on View Again’, p-
 For further information on how the acquisition was secured on the last day of the appeal see:
 Hutchison: *The History of the Royal Academy*, p194
- ⁹ – Oddy, Andrew: ‘Introduction’, *The Art of the Conservator*, ed. Andrew Oddy, London, 1992, p27
- ¹⁰ – The Byzantine iconoclastic controversy lasted from 726 until 843. For further discussion see:
 Alexander, Paul J.: ‘The Iconoclastic Council of St Sophia (815) and its Definition (*Horos*)’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Number 7, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953, pp37-66

- Barber, Charles: *Figure and Likeness: On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm*, Princeton and Oxford, 2002
- Bryer, Anthony and Herrin, Judith (eds.): *Iconoclasm: Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, 22nd – 24th March 1975*, Birmingham, 1977
- James, Liz: 'Seeing is Believing but Words Tell No Lies: Captions Versus Images in the *Libri Carolini* and Byzantine Iconoclasm', *Negating the Image: Case Studies in Iconoclasm*, eds. Anne McClanan and Jeffrey Johnson, Aldershot and Burlington, 2005, pp97-112
- Kitzinger, Ernst: 'The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Number 8, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1954, pp83-150
- Sahas, Daniel J.: *Icon and Logos: Sources in Eighth-Century Iconoclasm*, Toronto, Buffalo and London, 1986

¹¹ – See:

- Christensen, Carl C.: *Art and the Reformation in Germany*, Athens, Ohio and Detroit, Michigan, 1979
- Davis, Natalie Zemon: 'The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France', *Past and Present*, Volume 59, Number 1, May 1973, pp51-91
- Freedberg, David: *Iconoclasm and Painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands 1566-1609*, New York and London, 1988
- Scribner, Robert W.: 'Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside-Down', *Städtische Gesellschaft und Reformation*, ed. Ingrid Batori, Stuttgart, 1980, pp234-264

¹² – See:

- Gamboni, Dario: *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution*, London, 1997, pp31-36
- Gamboni, Dario: 'Image to Destroy, Indestructible Image', *Iconoclasm: Beyond the Image Wars in Science, Religion and Art*, eds. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel, Exhibition Catalogue: ZKM Center for Art and Media, Karlsruhe, 4th May – 4th August 2002, Karlsruhe, 2002, p93
- Hunt, Lynn: 'Introduction: The French Revolution in Culture: New Approaches and Perspectives', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Volume 22, Number 3, Spring 1989, pp293-301
- Idzerda, Stanley J.: 'Iconoclasm during the French Revolution', *The American Historical Review*, Volume 60, Number 1, October 1954, pp13-26
- Poulot, Dominique: 'Revolutionary 'Vandalism' and the Birth of the Museum: The Effects of a Representation of Modern Cultural Terror', *Art in Museums*, ed. Susan Pearce, London and Atlantic Highlands NJ, 1995, pp192-214

¹³ – See:

- Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, pp51-90
- Jones, Polly: 'Idols in Stone' or Empty Pedestals? Debating Revolutionary Iconoclasm in the Post-Soviet Transition', *Iconoclasm: Contested Objects, Contested Terms*, eds. Stacy Boldrick and Richard Clay, Aldershot and Burlington, 2007, pp241-259

¹⁴ – Ancient Egyptian iconoclasm is addressed in:

- Wilson, Penelope: 'Naming Names and Shifting Identities in Ancient Egyptian Iconoclasm', *Negating the Image: Case Studies in Iconoclasm*, eds. Anne McClanan and Jeffrey Johnson, Aldershot and Burlington, 2005, pp113-136
- Iconoclasm undertaken during the Mexican Revolution is analysed in:
- Bantjes, Adrian A.: 'The War Against Idols: The Meanings of Iconoclasm in Revolutionary Mexico, 1910-40', *Negating the Image: Case Studies in Iconoclasm*, eds. Anne McClanan and Jeffrey Johnson, Aldershot and Burlington, 2005, pp41-65

¹⁵ – McKim-Smith, Gridley: 'The Rhetoric of Rape, the Language of Vandalism', *Woman's Art Journal*, Volume 23, Number 1, Spring-Summer 2002, p30

-
- ¹⁶ – Held, Julius S.: ‘Alteration and Mutilation of Works of Art’, *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Volume 62, Number 1, Winter 1963, pp1-28
- ¹⁷ – Freedberg, David: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, Maarssen, 1985
- ¹⁸ – Freedberg made some attempt to rectify this imbalance in his 1989 book *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*. Here, he lists some of the motives behind attacks on abstract art and discusses the case of Barnett Newman’s *Who’s Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue IV*. See:
Freedberg, David: *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, Chicago and London, 1989, p418
- ¹⁹ – Freedberg: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, p35
- ²⁰ – Fine, Gary Alan and Shatin, Deborah: ‘Crimes Against Art: Social Meanings and Symbolic Attacks’, *Empirical Studies of the Arts*, Volume 3, 1985, pp135-152
- ²¹ – Cordess, Christopher and Turcan, Maja: ‘Art Vandalism’, *British Journal of Criminology*, Volume 33, Winter 1993, pp95-102
- ²² – Goss, Steven: *A Guide to Art Vandalism Tools, Their History and Their Use: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 1996
This publication features a number of mistakes in the dating of case studies. For example, Goss writes that Franz Weng’s attack on the Leonardo Cartoon occurred on 24th July 1962 instead of 27th June.
- ²³ – Gamboni, Dario: *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution*, London, 1997
- ²⁴ – Key texts in this vein include:
Boldrick, Stacy and Clay, Richard (eds.): *Iconoclasm: Contested Objects, Contested Terms*, Aldershot and Burlington, 2007
Latour, Bruno and Weibel, Peter (eds.): *Iconoclasm: Beyond the Image Wars in Science, Religion and Art*, Exhibition Catalogue: ZKM Center for Art and Media, Karlsruhe, 4th May – 4th August 2002, Karlsruhe, 2002
McClanan, Anne and Johnson, Jeffrey (eds.): *Negating the Image: Case Studies in Iconoclasm*, Aldershot and Burlington, 2005
- ²⁵ – Boldrick, Stacy and Clay, Richard: ‘Introduction’, *Iconoclasm: Contested Objects, Contested Terms*, eds. Stacy Boldrick and Richard Clay, Aldershot and Burlington, 2007, p2
- ²⁶ – Burmester, A., Koller, J., and Kawinski, H.: ‘The Munich Dürer Attack: The Removal of Sulphuric Acid and Acid Compounds by Use of a Conditioned Ion-Exchange Resin’, *Cleaning, Retouching and Coatings: Technology and Practice for Easel Paintings and Polychrome Sculpture*, eds. John S. Mills and Perry Smith, Preprints of the Contributions to the Brussels Congress, The International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, 3rd – 7th September 1990, London, 1990, pp177-183
Other published reports that highlight conservation treatments used after iconoclastic crimes include:
Aleshina, Tatyana: ‘Some Problems Concerning the Restoration of Rembrandt’s Painting *Danaë*’, *Danaë: The Fate of Rembrandt’s Masterpiece*, ed. Mikhail Piotrovsky, St Petersburg, 1997, pp142-146
Harding, Eric: ‘The Restoration of the Leonardo Cartoon: The Repair and Restoration of the Leonardo Cartoon’, *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, Volume 13, 1989, pp16-21
Morgan, Lyndsey: ‘Chair’, *Material Matters: The Conservation of Modern Sculpture*, ed. Jackie Heuman, London, 1999, pp72-81
- ²⁷ – The following texts exemplify this category:
Burke, Robert B. and Adey, Sam: *A Manual of Basic Museum Security*, Leicester, 1986
ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and Protection: A Handbook for Cultural Heritage Institutions*, London and New York, 1993

-
- Mason, Donald L.: *The Fine Art of Art Security: Protecting Public and Private Collections against Theft, Fire, and Vandalism*, New York, 1979
- Museums and Galleries Security Group: *Security in Museums, Archives and Libraries: A Practical Guide*, Re:source: The Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries Report, London, 2003
- ²⁸ – Boldrick and Clay: 'Introduction', p1
- ²⁹ – Disruptions to open-air temporary exhibitions are not discussed here either, which rules out such case studies as the 8th Swiss Sculpture Exhibition of 1980. In this exhibition 177 artworks were displayed on the streets of Bienne for a period of three months. 44 of them were either damaged or destroyed by members of the public. See:
- Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, pp171-181
- For further reading on aggression against art in outdoor civic spaces see:
- Elsen, Albert: 'What We Have Learned about Modern Public Sculpture: Ten Propositions', *Art Journal*, Volume 48, Number 4, Winter 1989, pp291-297
- Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, pp170-189
- Mitchell, W.J.T.: 'The Violence of Public Art: *Do the Right Thing*', *Art and the Public Sphere*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell, Chicago and London, 1992, pp29-48
- Senie, Harriet F. and Webster, Sally (eds.): *Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context, and Controversy*, Washington and London, 1998
- ³⁰ – Duncan, Carol: *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*, London and New York, 1995, p34
- For further information on the creation of the Louvre's *muséum*, and its role in relation to the French Revolution see:
- Boylan, Patrick J.: 'Revolutionary France and the Foundation of Modern Museum Management and Curatorial Practice, Part II: David and Vicq d'Azyr, 1792-94', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, Volume 15, Number 2, 1996, pp118-124
- Duncan: *Civilizing Rituals*, pp22-34
- Idzerda: 'Iconoclasm during the French Revolution', pp24-25
- McClellan, Andrew: *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, Cambridge, 1994, pp91-123
- Oliver, Bette W.: *From Royal to National: The Louvre Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale*, Lanham and Plymouth, 2007, pp21-43
- ³¹ – Although the potential time-frame of this study stretches from 1793 until 2008, no evidence could be found of iconoclastic incidents predating the 1840s. The earliest one uncovered was an "act of sabotage" on a painting by Pier Francesco Mola that occurred at the National Gallery in the 1840s. See:
- Holmes, Charles and Collins Baker, C.H.: *The Making of the National Gallery 1824-1924*, London, 1924, p73
- ³² – The Portland Vase, a 1st century piece of Roman glassware, was smashed by a visitor to the British Museum on 7th February 1845. See:
- Smith, Sandra: 'The Portland Vase', *The Art of the Conservator*, ed. Andrew Oddy, London, 1992, pp44-45
- Anonymous: 'Hacker Anceaux', *Time.Com*, 2nd March 1931, www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,741146,00.html, (Consulted 22/08/07)
- ³³ – This incident occurred at the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York on 7th August 1993. The guard used a felt-tip pen to write messages across the painting. For details see:
- Goss: *A Guide to Art Vandalism Tools*
- Lawson, Carol: 'Chronicle', *The New York Times*, 10th August 1993, p-
- Vogel, Carol: 'A Vandalised Lichtenstein', *The New York Times*, 17th September 1993, p-
- Anonymous: 'Museum Sues the Whitney Over a Disfigured Painting', *The New York Times*, 8th August 1996, p-

-
- ³⁴ – Whether or not owners should have the prerogative to destroy their artistic property is a complicated and contentious question. For further discussion and case studies see:
 Berman, Avis: ‘Art Destroyed: Sixteen Shocking Case Histories’, *Connoisseur*, July 1989, pp74-81
 Conklin, John E.: *Art Crime*, Westport, Connecticut and London, 1994, pp234-238
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, pp139-169
 Jones, Jonathan: ‘Look What We Did’, *The Guardian*, 31st March 2003, p-
 Lyons, William: ‘Lost Work of Art to be Restored after ‘Vandalism’’, *Scotland on Sunday*, 25th September 2005, p-
 Sax, Joseph L.: *Playing Darts with a Rembrandt: Public and Private Rights in Cultural Treasures*, Ann Arbor, 2004
- ³⁵ – Gamboni includes touching in this category. See:
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p192
- ³⁶ – For reading on accidental harm in galleries, and some proposals for reducing the problem see:
 Burke and Adey: *A Manual of Basic Museum Security*, pp73-74
 Cassar, May: ‘Serving Food and Drink at Events in Museums: Fact Sheet for the Museums & Galleries Commission’, *Museums, Libraries and Archives Council Website*, www.mla.gov.uk/resources/assets//M/mgc_fooddrink_pdf_4699.pdf, (Consulted 28/01/08)
 ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and Protection*, pp275-277
 Museums and Galleries Security Group: *Security in Museums, Archives and Libraries*, pp132-134
 Anonymous: ‘Guide to the Use of Barrier Rails or Ropes’, *Museums, Libraries and Archives Council Website*, www.mla.gov.uk/resources/assets//G/Guide_to_the_Use_of_Barrier_Rails_and_Ropes_10200.doc, (Consulted 21/01/08)
- ³⁷ – The following are good examples:
 Ambrose, Timothy and Paine, Crispin: *Museum Basics*, London and New York, 2003, pp189-192
 Museums and Galleries Security Group: *Security in Museums, Archives and Libraries*, pp82-84 and pp90-94
 ‘Guide on the Action to be Taken in Cases of Theft, Criminal or Accidental Damage (Including Indemnified Material)’, *Museums, Libraries and Archives Council Website*, www.mla.gov.uk/resources/assets//G/Guide_on_action_to_be_taken_10201.doc, (Consulted 28/01/08)
- ³⁸ – Museums might be reluctant to call the police in circumstances where a perpetrator has caused damage to an artwork by means of deliberate manipulation or interference rather than an outright assault. However, this type of act may still be classed as a crime. The UK has no specific law against iconoclasm, but many incidents either fall within the remit of the Criminal Damage Act 1971 (according to English Law), or are defined as vandalism under Section 78 of the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 1980 (according to Scots Law). According to Section 1 (1) of the Criminal Damage Act 1971: “A person who, without lawful excuse, destroys or damages any property belonging to another, intending to destroy or damage any such property or being reckless as to whether such property would be destroyed or damaged shall be guilty of an offence”. See:
 Museums and Galleries Security Group: *Security in Museums, Archives and Libraries*, p94

-
- ³⁹ – Grégoire's first account, *Rapport sur les destructions opérées par le Vandalisme, et sur les moyens de le réprimer*, was presented on 1st August 1794. The *Second Rapport sur le Vandalisme* was presented on 29th October. The *Troisième Rapport sur le Vandalisme* was presented on 14th December. Grégoire claimed in his *Mémoires* that he had invented the term *vandalisme*. See:
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p18
 For further reading on Grégoire's reports see:
 Idzerda: 'Iconoclasm during the French Revolution', p25
 Poulot: 'Revolutionary 'Vandalism'', pp193-195
- ⁴⁰ – Boldrick and Clay: 'Introduction', p7
- ⁴¹ – Some well-known examples include the sculpted heads of kings on the portals of Notre Dame Cathedral being smashed, and the statue of Louis XIV in the Place des Victoires being destroyed. See:
 Clay, Richard: 'Bouchardon's Statue of Louis XV; Iconoclasm and the Transformation of Signs', *Iconoclasm: Contested Objects, Contested Terms*, eds. Stacy Boldrick and Richard Clay, Aldershot and Burlington, 2007, p93
 Hunt: 'Introduction', p294
 Idzerda: 'Iconoclasm during the French Revolution', p16
- ⁴² – Idzerda: 'Iconoclasm during the French Revolution', p25
- ⁴³ – According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word 'vandal' was used in 1663 to describe a "wilful or ignorant destroyer of anything beautiful, venerable or worthy of preservation". See:
 Cohen, Stanley: 'Property Destruction: Motives and Meanings', *Vandalism*, ed. Colin Ward, London, 1973, p34
 For further reading on the Vandals see:
 Coffield, Frank: *Vandalism & Graffiti: The State of the Art*, London, 1991, pp22-23
 Cohen: 'Property Destruction' pp33-34
 Madison, Arnold: *Vandalism: The Not-So-Senseless Crime*, New York, 1970, p3
- ⁴⁴ – The various dismissive connotations of the word 'vandalism' are discussed in:
 Cohen: 'Property Destruction', p34
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p18
 McClanan, Anne and Johnson, Jeffrey: 'Introduction: 'O for a muse of fire...'', *Negating the Image: Case Studies in Iconoclasm*, eds. Anne McClanan and Jeffrey Johnson, Aldershot and Burlington, 2005, p5
- ⁴⁵ – Boldrick and Clay: 'Introduction', p7
- ⁴⁶ – *Ibid.*, p8
- ⁴⁷ – For details on the origins of the word 'iconoclasm' see:
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p18
 McClanan and Johnson: 'Introduction', p1
- ⁴⁸ – Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p336
- ⁴⁹ – Boldrick and Clay: 'Introduction', p8
- ⁵⁰ – For an in-depth study of how the semantic range of the word 'iconoclasm' has expanded see:
 McClanan and Johnson: 'Introduction', p1
- ⁵¹ – Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, pp18-19
- ⁵² – Boldrick and Clay: 'Introduction', p9
- ⁵³ – Some months after the coronation of Louis XVI in 1774, a piece of graffiti reading "Resurrexit" appeared on Bouchardon's statue *Louis XV*. Louis XV had not been a popular king, and this graffiti suggested that Louis XVI was his reincarnation. In this way it identified the statue as a surrogate monument for Louis XVI, and gave it another layer of meaning. See:
 Clay: 'Bouchardon's Statue of Louis XV', pp100-102

-
- ⁵⁴ – Chapter Five is the exception to this rule. The phrase ‘art vandalism’ is used in the final chapter because it was deemed to be the most suitable term for the associated survey. For details see Chapter Five.
- ⁵⁵ – This state of affairs is also noted in:
 Fine and Shatin: ‘Crimes Against Art’, p139
 McKim-Smith: ‘The Rhetoric of Rape’, p30
- ⁵⁶ – Staff at the National Gallery were among the most reticent. The following correspondences stated that they were unable to enter into discussion:
 Correspondence with Jon Campbell, Head of Visitor Services and Security at National Gallery, London, UK (Sent 21/11/05)
 Correspondence with Martin Wyld, Director of Conservation at National Gallery, London, UK (Sent 09/11/05)
- ⁵⁷ – Interview with William Brown, National Security Adviser at the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council, London, UK (Conducted 27/03/08)
- ⁵⁸ – Not all case studies that feature in the database are mentioned in the thesis, but attempts were made to use as many examples as possible.
- ⁵⁹ – The following sources provided guidance in these various duties:
 Foddy, William: *Constructing Questions for Interviews and Questionnaires*, Cambridge, 1993
 Fowler, Floyd: *Survey Research Methods*, Newbury Park, London and New Delhi, 1993
 Narins, Pamela: ‘Choosing the Right Administration Method for your Research’, *Ryerson University, Toronto*,
www.ryerson.ca/~mjoppe/ResearchProcess/AdministrationMethod.htm, (Consulted 11/11/05)
 Oppenheim, A.N.: *Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude Measurement*, London and New York, 1996
 Anonymous: ‘The Self-Administered Survey’, *Ryerson University, Toronto*,
www.ryerson.ca/~mjoppe/ResearchProcess/SelfAdministered.htm, (Consulted 11/11/05)
 Anonymous: ‘The Survey System: Survey Design’, *The Survey System*,
www.surveysystem.com/sdesign.htm, (Consulted 11/11/05)
- ⁶⁰ – Cordess and Turcan: ‘Art Vandalism’, p96

Chapter One

“Wholly uninteresting”: The Motives behind Acts of Iconoclasm

Rembrandt's *Nightwatch* is the star attraction of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. On 14th September 1975 it was disfigured by Wilhelm Arie de Rijk, who used a knife to slash the canvas over twelve times (Plates 3 and 4). De Rijk was subsequently committed to a psychiatric hospital, where he killed himself six months later.¹ The unpredictability and severity of the attack sent shock waves across the art world, and the press descended upon the Rijksmuseum to gain insight into why it had happened. Gallery officials did not share this curiosity. Almost one month after the assault the Director of Public Relations was quoted in *Neue Kronen Zeitung*. “The assailant and his motives are wholly uninteresting to us”, he asserted, “for one cannot apply normal criteria to the motivations of someone who is mentally disturbed”.²

Twenty-six years later Jacqueline Crofton entered Tate Britain and threw eggs at *Work 227: The Lights Going On and Off*, the 2001 Turner Prize winning installation by Martin Creed that consisted of two flashing lights in an otherwise empty room (Plate 5). In this case the damage was far less catastrophic. Afterwards, though, a spokesman for Tate Britain was equally unforthcoming in addressing the reasoning behind the attack. Having relayed the sequence of events to *BBC News*, the representative added simply: “We have no idea why she did it”.³ This apparent incomprehension was in spite of the media brouhaha that had erupted after Creed's inclusion on the Turner Prize shortlist. There had been widespread scepticism that the minimalist installation was little short of ‘the emperor's new clothes’.⁴

While these two examples of iconoclasm are very different, the reluctance of each institution to consider the possible motives of their assailants in any depth is comparable. There are various explanations for this. David Freedberg claims that the Rijksmuseum staff reacted out of a basic human impulse to “lay aside and suppress that with which we cannot deal”.⁵ It is difficult to apply his interpretation to the incident at Tate Britain though, since damage there was minor. Perhaps it is more likely that officials refused to consider the iconoclasts' motives to avoid validating them. Or maybe they did not perceive any merit in pursuing the matter due to the seemingly idiosyncratic nature of the attacks.

However it is accounted for, this conduct is not exceptional.⁶ The media may be eager to speculate on why acts of destruction are carried out, but victimised museums and galleries tend to downplay or even ignore this aspect of the phenomenon, maintaining instead that it is incomprehensible. Unless reasoning is expressed overtly by perpetrators, cultural institutions are unlikely to entertain and analyse rationales.

Yet motives are pivotal to occurrences of this crime. Addressing them should be fundamental in developing an understanding of the problem, and, in turn, responding to it. This approach can illuminate why certain artworks or institutions are targeted, and can explain the manner of their assault. It equips museums to react more appropriately and effectively in the event of an attack. Without comprehension as to why such acts occur, they will find it virtually impossible to anticipate future incidents and take preventative measures against them.

For these reasons this first chapter aims to identify and examine a selection of motives behind iconoclastic offences, illustrating each with case studies. Opening with the subject of motive also allows the breadth of the phenomenon to be introduced and its many facets to be revealed. This issue is important; the heterogeneity of iconoclasm is a particular complication for those concerned with its prevention.

There is no single explanation for museum visitors who mutilate works of art. Reasons are often as individual as perpetrators themselves. Even so, there have been attempts to rationalise this form of offence by categorising either types of attackers or their motives. In *Iconoclasm: Beyond the Image Wars in Science, Religion and Art*, Bruno Latour classifies five broad varieties of iconoclast in terms of their intentions towards images.⁷ In the article ‘Seven Faces of the Art Vandal’ Brian Dillon endows his categories with distinct personalities.⁸ This chapter follows a similar format, but focuses on motives rather than the identities and characteristics of culprits.

Determining the psychological makeup of the archetypal iconoclast is not an objective of this study. The motives to be discussed include: destruction for destruction’s sake, mental disturbance, the conflation of image and reality, political and socio-political agitation, personal publicity-seeking, religious convictions, moral outrage, the belief that an exhibit does not constitute art, artistic envy, the belief that an assault is artistic in its own right, and ‘copycat’ behaviour.

Classifying iconoclasm in this way is not without its difficulties. Some categories, such as mental disturbance, concern not so much the motive as the

explanation for this behaviour. A degree of thematic overlap between categories is also unavoidable due to the fluid nature of motive itself. Someone who destroys a painting or sculpture may be driven by multiple simultaneous impulses. Likewise, assailants may begin to rationalise their acts differently over the course of time.

Robert Cambridge, who turned a shotgun on Leonardo's *Virgin and Child with St Anne and St John the Baptist* in 1987, initially claimed to be protesting at "political, social and economic conditions in Britain". This statement was later retracted with the explanation that the attack had been a "cry for help".⁹

Any analysis of iconoclastic stimuli must rely upon the statements of perpetrators and the people around them, which is a subjective foundation to start with. The limitations of source material compound the matter. Some of the gravest and most sensational episodes are investigated in this chapter because they are the most extensively documented. With many lesser incidents, offenders are never caught and their reasoning is never revealed. As a result, consideration of major case studies outweighs the discourse afforded to minor ones. The scenarios presented here are not entirely representative of the experiences of many smaller institutions. But this chapter has other goals. The intention is to address the subject of motive as a step towards facilitating a greater comprehension of iconoclastic phenomena, encouraging museums and galleries to deliver informed responses to the problem, and challenging the notion that assailants and their motives are "wholly uninteresting".

Stanley Cohen determines that the most pervasive stereotype associated with the deliberate destruction of property is that such behaviour is "meaningless, senseless or wanton".¹⁰ This is particularly the case with the mutilation of artworks. Unlike art theft, iconoclasm is a crime with no tangible reward, and it is often assumed that this apparently irrational activity amounts to no more than destruction for destruction's sake. Essentially, it is motiveless. As an anomalous 'non-motive', a purpose defined by its lack of purpose, the concept of destruction for destruction's sake seems a logical starting point.

This notion is related to the belief that iconoclasm is only undertaken by ignorant barbarians, who are incapable of either appreciating art or perceiving the folly of their actions. The apparent recklessness of iconoclasts' conduct is seen to reflect their baseness of character. In the early 1970s Cohen was among the first to discredit such clichés and restore meaning to acts of property destruction in general.¹¹ More recently, scholars like Dario Gamboni and David Freedberg have applied this

approach to iconoclasm, repudiating the arbitrariness of attacks and the ‘otherness’ of offenders.¹² Unfortunately, where motives are not clearly discernable, the idea that iconoclasts are compelled to wreak harm aimlessly remains entrenched in public opinion. This could further explain the reluctance of museums to address the question of motive. They simply cannot imagine that a purpose exists beyond destruction as an end in itself.

Yet far from being a principal motive, it can be argued that destruction for destruction’s sake is an entirely false contrivance. Every iconoclastic gesture is carried out for a reason. Sometimes assailants will be unable to articulate their rationales effectively, on other occasions their objectives will be unacceptable or incomprehensible in the eyes of ‘normal’ society. Nevertheless, undertaking an assault will always make some sort of sense to the perpetrator. If a motive is not overt it does not follow necessarily that a motive is absent. However, this is the premise behind allegations of destruction for destruction’s sake.

A series of iconoclastic incidents that occurred in 1977 provides an illustrative case study. On 29th March Hans-Joachim Böhlmann entered the Hamburg Kunsthalle and sprayed Paul Klee’s *Goldfish* with sulphuric acid. Over the next seven months, Böhlmann assaulted another twenty-two artworks in this fashion, including pieces by Rembrandt, Cranach and Rubens (Plate 6).¹³ Striking a variety of institutions, his choice of targets seemed to be indiscriminate; the quintessential model of destruction for destruction’s sake. When Böhlmann was finally apprehended in October 1977, it was reported that he declared: “I had to destroy that which others cherish”.¹⁴

From initial appearances these exploits were motiveless. Even recent writers have described the episode as a “rampage”, and its justification as “crude”.¹⁵ Böhlmann’s trial exposed reasons for his criminality though. Days prior to the first attack, his wife had died in an accident. Not long before, Böhlmann had been diagnosed with a brain tumour and pensioned off work. This series of personal traumas engendered an accumulation of aggression which finally eclipsed rational thought. Böhlmann later admitted that iconoclasm had relieved his sense of injustice: “I have hated all art since my wife’s death and draw great satisfaction from destroying it”.¹⁶ Amidst the media clamour this genuine rationale was obscured. The suggestion that he had felt obliged to “destroy that which others cherish” took precedence, although this explanation probably derived from a criminologist’s remarks rather than Böhlmann’s own words.¹⁷

Even if one accepts this disputed statement, it remains impossible to claim that Böhlmann's actions represent destruction for destruction's sake. "I had to destroy that which others cherish" implies that the attacker gained satisfaction from destruction. This may have resulted from the upset that his actions caused others, or from the sensation of watching acid dissolve the images. Regardless, in whatever way the declaration is interpreted, it cannot be defined as motiveless.

John Conklin identifies the physical sensation of the experience as a motive behind attacks on artworks; one which is often mistaken for destruction for destruction's sake. In *Art Crime* he asserts that perpetrators may be spurred on by the visual, tactile and auditory effects associated with wrecking activity.¹⁸ His argument is supported by the findings of Vernon Allen and David Greenberger, who published their 'Aesthetic Theory of Vandalism' in 1978.¹⁹ Allen and Greenberger propose that the variables which make creative experiences pleasurable are the same as those responsible for destructive behaviour. Levels of complexity, expectation, novelty, patterning and intensity are all factors that determine the degree of satisfaction that someone will derive from damaging a piece of property. These stimuli may function in both "eliciting" and "discriminative" capacities; they prompt individuals to carry out attacks, but they also guide decisions relating to the choice of targets.²⁰ The physical nature of an object before, during and after its destruction is of key significance. Anticipation of the transformative process is equally important. If something breaks in an interesting, tangible manner, and the end result conforms to aesthetically pleasing notions of physical arrangement, the assailant will feel a strong sense of gratification.

Although this theory was developed to explain general property destruction, it can be applied to iconoclasm. Since its acquisition by National Museums Liverpool in 1993, Peter Doig's painting *Blotter* has suffered three counts of deliberate damage, where visitors have pressed either their fingers or foreign items into the painting's impasto surface (Plate 7).²¹ It is conceivable that the culprits chose to interfere with this picture because they believed that doing so would provide a pleasurable sensory experience. Applying pressure to different areas of the paintwork, causing it to undulate and crack, could have been an attempt to satisfy this deep-rooted compulsion.

'Enjoyment Theory' is another hypothesis worth considering. Again, it is too often eclipsed by the idea of destruction for destruction's sake. Mihaly

Csikszentmihalyi and Reed Larson interpret property destruction in terms of the intrinsic rewards for perpetrators. This approach broadly resembles that of Allen and Greenberger, but their argument looks beyond aesthetics.²² It states that people find everyday activities enjoyable when challenges are balanced appropriately with personal skills. Under these circumstances, which Csikszentmihalyi and Larson call the ‘flow state’, the sense of being in control is heightened, goals are clearly defined, feedback is readily available, and participants experience pleasure and fulfilment.²³ Yet when challenges are unrealistically demanding or insufficiently engaging, the ‘flow state’ will not be achieved, and individuals will be obliged to explore alternative ventures in pursuit of enjoyment. Those who cannot find a match for their skills in socially acceptable activities often turn to destructive acts like property damage. These confrontations provide a clear balance between challenges and skills, obvious goals and immediate feedback. As such, they are “a ready source of enjoyment”.²⁴

Csikszentmihalyi and Larson use their theory to account for anti-social conduct in schools, claiming that many students who break the rules do so because they are not positively stimulated by the education system. This behaviour represents the search for other sources of ‘fun’. Essentially, it is a product of boredom. Certain cases of iconoclasm are motivated by similar conditions. It is possible that the people who disfigured *Blotter* were trying to enliven what they perceived to be a dull visiting experience.

The repeated attacks on this exhibit could equally be explained in terms of viewers’ curiosity. Perhaps the unprotected paintwork proved too much of a temptation not to touch. As the Director of the Milwaukee Art Museum commented in April 2007: “I think in this digital age, when people spend so much time looking at screens, real objects are a temptation. People, they feel curious about the surface textures”.²⁵

Such elemental motivations often feature in less serious incidents of iconoclasm, frequently those performed by children. In February 2006 a schoolboy made American news when he affixed a piece of chewing gum to Helen Frankenthaler’s abstract painting *The Bay* (Plate 8).²⁶ Although the 12-year-old did not account for his conduct publicly, several speculations are plausible. He could have been prompted by aesthetic sensory impulses, driven by a desire to alleviate boredom or compelled by curiosity. Maybe he was simply trying to impress his

peers.²⁷ Afterwards, it was agreed that the boy had not grasped the wider implications of his act, but this does not mean that it was devoid of purpose.

Destruction for destruction's sake is not a motive behind acts of iconoclasm, it is a label used by others to attempt to rationalise this behaviour. Yet since a motiveless assault is conceptually impossible, it is not a valid label. Nor is it a helpful one from a preventive perspective. When it is assumed that destruction has been undertaken as an end in itself, the real aims of the perpetrator are either obscured or dismissed. Targeted institutions are not obliged to examine the meaning of attacks and their understanding of iconoclasm remains underdeveloped.

Mental disturbance is another problematic explanation that is often accepted for the mutilation of art. Strictly speaking, it is not a motive either, but at least it functions as a valid umbrella term for various derivative motives, which will be examined shortly. Some iconoclasts are mentally ill, and in some cases their condition influences their behaviour towards artworks. But these facts overlook the complexities of the broader situation.

As with many forms of extraordinary behaviour, iconoclastic gestures that do not immediately make sense to onlookers are often rationalised as the outcome of mental illness. The 'mad' destroyer of art is a cultural stereotype. Many writers appear unable to address the issue without using phrases like "insane", "unhinged" or "maniac".²⁸ While a significant proportion of attackers who are apprehended are revealed to have mental health problems, this does not signify automatically that mental illness is a predominant cause of iconoclasm. Compared with other perpetrators, people with mental conditions could be less effective at committing such offences, or might be less inclined to flee the scenes of their crimes, and thus are more likely to be caught.²⁹ Gamboni considers the psychopathic motivation to be a "small factor" in the deliberate destruction of art.³⁰ However, as there are no reliable statistics concerning the relationship between mental illness and iconoclasm, the extent of the correlation remains speculative.

Such ambiguity allows attacks to be falsely attributed to mental disturbance. This is a serious problem. Like using the label of destruction for destruction's sake, it masks and discredits other, more illuminating, motives. It also reinforces the inaccurate stereotype of the 'insane' iconoclast. The authorities and cultural institutions can be quite willing to adopt this convenient rationalisation, which aggravates the situation further. In 1914 suffragette iconoclasts were branded

systematically as mentally unfit as a means of undermining their political message.³¹ Blaming assaults on psychological ailments is not always this calculated. Nevertheless, mental illness is a misleading ‘one-size-fits-all’ explanation, and its overly-liberal use is not only lazy, but irresponsible.

People do not mutilate paintings or sculptures solely because they have psychiatric conditions. Still, there are some specific and credible motives which derive from mental illness. To avoid the dangers of false labelling, the following examples are illustrated by case studies in which the culprits were medically certified.

On 17th July 1987 Robert Cambridge fired a sawn-off shotgun at the National Gallery’s Leonardo Cartoon (Plate 9).³² Swiftly apprehended by security guards, Cambridge was arrested and eventually sent to undergo psychological treatment. In 1991, awaiting his release from Broadmoor Hospital, he discussed his motives with the *Independent on Sunday*.³³ By this point the attacker was able to define his actions as a “cry for help”. He had not wanted to harm himself or others, but believed that he must enact some striking gesture to draw attention to his condition. Twice in 1982 Cambridge had attempted suicide and refused offers of psychiatric help; assaulting the Leonardo Cartoon was his way of ensuring the renewal of these offers. As he explained: “If I damaged an inanimate object, then that would get the feelings out of my system and I’d be taken away and given treatment”.³⁴ Cambridge recognised his need for help and acted accordingly.

The mentally ill assailant of Rembrandt’s *Nightwatch* showed no such signs of self-awareness. At the time of the slashing, Wilhelm Arie de Rijk was experiencing an identity crisis. He was quoted as saying that he was “inspired by powers beyond this earth”, and further announced: “I am the Messiah”.³⁵ Messianic complexes have featured in several prominent attacks on artworks, most notably the mutilation of Michelangelo’s *Pietà* on 21st May 1972.³⁶ However, it is unclear why de Rijk targeted the *Nightwatch* in particular. Since most of his blows were aimed at the dark central figure of Captain Banning Cocq, Freedberg suggests that de Rijk considered this man to be a personification of the devil.³⁷ Little evidence supports this. De Rijk may have believed that he was performing God’s bidding by slashing the canvas, or perhaps, as the Messiah, he felt threatened by the image and what it represented. Either way, defacing it was his way of submitting to an “irresistible urge”.³⁸

Obsessive behaviour is another notable motive for mentally disturbed iconoclasts. On 21st March 1986 Gerard Jan van Bladeren slashed *Who’s Afraid of*

Red, Yellow and Blue III by Barnett Newman in the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam.³⁹ He inflicted three lacerations across the width of the canvas before he was apprehended (Plates 10 and 11). The justifications that van Bladeren gave for his actions were mainly incoherent, but, significantly, he claimed to have been working in conjunction with Newman, insisting that his alteration of the painting completed it. When van Bladeren returned to the Stedelijk on 21st November 1997, he still had this notion in mind. During the intervening years, *Who's Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue III* had undergone an expensive and controversial restoration, which van Bladeren believed was somehow wrong.⁴⁰ Seeking the painting on his return, he realised that it was not on public display. Instead, van Bladeren turned his attention to Newman's earlier canvas *Cathedral*, and slashed it across its width (Plate 12).⁴¹

The authors of *Art Since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism* suggest that van Bladeren's fixation with Newman's work may not have been arbitrary, but partially "encouraged by the art itself".⁴² They refer to Newman's ability to develop colour saturation to "a point of maximum tension". The monumental proportions of these paintings and the uncompromising intensity of the pigments have an impact on most viewers, so it is conceivable that a disturbed mind might find this experience heightened.

There are other cases of this type where subject matter is a key factor. On 4th April 2007 a visitor to the Milwaukee Art Museum, who had a history of psychiatric problems, removed Ottavio Vannini's *The Triumph of David* from the gallery wall and kicked it repeatedly (Plate 13).⁴³ The blows were aimed at the representation of Goliath's severed head, and afterwards the attacker admitted that this image "disturbed" him.⁴⁴ Repulsed or frightened by this aspect of the painting, the man was unable to reassure himself that the head was merely a depiction. The distinction between signifier and signified was temporarily blurred.

These examples provide only a glimpse of the various motives that may derive from mental disturbance. However, they demonstrate the difficulties facing cultural institutions in preventing such attacks. There is considerable diversity concerning the approaches and targets of assaults by the mentally ill. All that can be concluded realistically is iconoclasm of this kind tends to be undertaken in a forthright and conspicuous manner, and, therefore, the damage inflicted is often serious.

Defacement of artworks sometimes occurs when a viewer loses the ability to differentiate between an image and what it represents. This explanation can apply to people suffering from psychiatric conditions, but it is not restricted to this group.

Stories of individuals who have mistaken images for reality have been told throughout history. In 'Alteration and Mutilation of Works of Art' Julius Held recounts a medieval Persian fable, in which the love of a man for a sculpture of a queen results in the nose of the statue being knocked off to stop other men falling for its beauty.⁴⁵ The realism of subjects can provoke opposite emotions. For instance, viewers may be scared by an image of a person so life-like that its eyes appear to follow them. Freedberg draws attention to how viewers react to the depiction of eyes, proposing that this anatomical feature most endows human representations with a sense of "liveliness". He interprets attacks on eyes as attempts to deprive images of their unnatural life force.⁴⁶ Freedberg's stance is supported by the case of the 1982 acid attack on Rubens's *Archduke Albrecht* in Düsseldorf. The assailant claimed to have been troubled by the sitter's "piercing eyes".⁴⁷

The erasure of the boundary between art and reality is not always involuntary; it can be a conscious process of combining the signifier with the signified. That is to say that when looking at an image of something the viewer sees not only a depiction, but a prototype of the original source that is intrinsically part of its being.⁴⁸ Images of saints can be considered in this way. In pre-Reformation Germany, for instance, the connection between Christian image and prototype meant that sculptures and paintings of saints were venerated as if they were the figures represented.⁴⁹ The fact that Protestant reformers felt it necessary to destroy such images to prove that they were merely material objects, and not possessed of holy presence, indicates the depth to which this idea was ingrained. Even during the Reformation the overlap between image and prototype endured. Robert Scribner describes the behaviour of carnival participants in February 1521, who threw dung at a figure representing the Pope as it was paraded through Wittenberg.⁵⁰ While this was an anti-papal gesture, it reiterated the metaphorical significance of figurative art on a subconscious level at least.

Christopher Cordess and Maja Turcan propose that iconoclasm can provide a substitute for aggression against people.⁵¹ This hypothesis is especially convincing where damage is inflicted on figurative art. Indeed, Freedberg refers to such violence as "a second order of harm", whereby individuals who cannot be reached in person may be assaulted through their images.⁵² Actual bodily injury does not occur, but the

implication is overt. An example of this is provided by the damage sustained by a predella of the interrogation of St Reparata by Bernardo Daddi. At some stage in the panel's history, the faces of St Reparata's persecutors were scratched by a viewer, who presumably wanted to punish these men.⁵³

Mutilating artworks to symbolically harm, or at least shame, the figures represented is commonly associated with issues of revenge or punishment. This motive is not relegated to history or confined to religious imagery; it endures in everyday culture. Towards the end of the 1939 film *Gone with the Wind* the character Rhett blames his wife Scarlett for the disintegration of their marriage. In one scene, following a domestic argument, Rhett kicks down a door and throws a whisky glass at a painting of his wife. Unable to contain his anger towards Scarlett, he enacts retribution on her portrait.⁵⁴ Image punishment tends to be even more unequivocal in times of political unrest. Following the invasion of Iraq in March 2003, numerous protest rallies took place across Britain. Some protestors carried grotesque effigies of George Bush and Tony Blair, and in some instances these were subjected to toppling or burning.⁵⁵ The implication was that protesters felt that these leaders should be punished.

A recent case of iconoclasm in a gallery that was similarly motivated involved a photograph of David Beckham (Plate 14). On 29th June 2004 Royal Academy officials found that *David Beckham* by Mark Hom, part of the exhibition 'The FIFA 100', had been defaced with indelible ink.⁵⁶ Although those responsible were never caught, the damage gave a clue to their reasoning. The expression "YOU LOOSERS" was scrawled across the image, while a nearby wall was marked with the words: "Beckham and Meier, you losers". These statements were in apparent reference to the recent exit of the English football team from the Euro 2004 competition; Beckham had missed several penalties and Urs Meier had officiated as a match referee. England's elimination from the event was a source of national disappointment. Revelations regarding Beckham's personal life only heightened public animosity towards him.⁵⁷ By assaulting *David Beckham* in this manner, the perpetrator was rebuking the behaviour of Beckham himself. This episode may not demonstrate a complete conflation of image and reality in the assailant's mind, but the overlap is obvious. Had the attacker gained access to Beckham himself, it is probable that the footballer would have been berated verbally as a 'looser'.

Metaphorical attacks on figurative artworks can be an effective form of protest. This is only one aspect of politically and socio-politically motivated iconoclasm, though, which is an extensive topic itself.

A violent assault on an artwork in a cultural institution will always guarantee public attention. Essentially this is because deliberately damaging art contravenes the inclination of most communities to preserve cultural items for future generations. When someone flouts this basic social code it rarely fails to elicit interest or be seized upon by the media. For this reason the destruction of art is often embarked upon by groups or individuals bent on stimulating publicity for political or socio-political causes. By harnessing their particular principles to an attack, they hope that their campaign will be propelled into the public spotlight alongside the damage itself. This tactic will not necessarily encourage support for a cause. However, if the association between theory and gesture is conveyed effectively, it can prompt people to consider an issue which may have commanded little attention before.

Investigating this type of incident yields a predictably diverse range of case studies. It is possible to obtain an overview by dividing episodes into four broad categories, depending on the characteristics of the assaulted artwork.

Famous works of art are especially vulnerable to iconoclasm motivated by political and socio-political activism. The more celebrated the image, the more widely reproduced and recognised it is, and the greater the publicity its destruction will engender. The attack on Diego Velázquez's painting *The Toilet of Venus* (*The Rokeby Venus*) illustrates such circumstances.⁵⁸ The suffragette Mary Richardson slashed the *Rokeby Venus* in March 1914 as a protest against the imprisonment of the WSPU leader Emmeline Pankhurst (Plates 15 and 16). Richardson's choice of target was shrewd. Not only was the *Rokeby Venus* the only known surviving nude by Velázquez, it had been purchased by the National Gallery for £45,000 after a high publicity acquisition campaign.⁵⁹ In her memoirs, Richardson recalls that she targeted the artwork because it was "highly prized".⁶⁰ Meanwhile, her pre-prepared official statement indicates that she was acting out of revenge. "I have tried to destroy the picture of the most beautiful woman in mythological history as a protest against the Government for destroying Mrs. Pankhurst," she explained.⁶¹ In Richardson's opinion it was a case of an eye for an eye, and the fame of the painting reflected the significance that she attached to her cause. She not only aimed to guarantee attention,

but to compel the government to consider the women's franchise question more seriously.

Another comparable, though distinct, form of activist iconoclasm concerns images of famous people. The same two-fold objective applies: kindling publicity and enhancing the significance of the cause by association. However, an assault on a portrait inherently suggests harming the sitter, which intensifies the impact of the gesture.

It is difficult to imagine that Paul Salmon was oblivious of this when he slashed Bryan Organ's *Lady Diana Spencer (Princess of Wales)* on 29th August 1981 (Plate 17).⁶² Although the painting was defaced only six days after going on display at the National Portrait Gallery, it had already attracted thousands of visitors in the wake of the royal wedding.⁶³ It was inevitable that destroying the portrait, and symbolically assaulting Diana Spencer herself, would provoke high levels of publicity. Indeed, had Salmon been more astute, his motivational principles might have received optimum exposure.

In the event his protest backfired. Due to an early assertion that he had "done it for Ireland", many assumed that Salmon was an IRA sympathiser.⁶⁴ The real cause that he was trying to illuminate, the social deprivation endemic in Northern Ireland, was obscured by the blind outrage that this presumption provoked. By the time that the misunderstanding had been resolved in court, any momentum created by the act had evaporated. The judge stripped the attack of political credibility, describing Salmon as "just an immature young vandal who wanted to show off".⁶⁵ Destroying the image of a famous personality proved to be a more powerful deed than Salmon had envisaged. The implications of his act were received so seriously that they eclipsed the very reason for the protest.

The decapitation of Neil Simmons's statue *Margaret Thatcher* is another case of political iconoclasm determined by the subject depicted.⁶⁶ Yet, whereas Paul Salmon opted to ruin a portrait which would draw maximum attention to his agenda, Paul Kelleher chose the image of the former Prime Minister because of its political character. This demonstrates the third category of activist iconoclasm, where the artwork in question has controversial subject matter.

Kelleher, an anti-capitalist demonstrator, struck *Margaret Thatcher* with a cricket bat and then a metal stanchion on 3rd July 2002, knocking off the statue's head (Plates 18 and 19). Afterwards he waited to be arrested, explaining that he wanted to

present his political grievances in court. Kelleher gave an impassioned defence speech on 16th December 2002 covering such topics as capitalism, globalisation, the environment, terrorism and Tony Blair.⁶⁷ His choice of target was of fundamental importance. Apparently, Margaret Thatcher was the source of “irreparable damage” that was occurring worldwide, and her statue was an accessible embodiment of this threat.⁶⁸ Although it is unclear whether Kelleher intended to decapitate the figure, the result of the attack assumed a further layer of symbolism. Thatcher’s metaphorical beheading could be read as Kelleher’s retribution for her conduct while in office.

This type of iconoclasm does not always involve images of controversial personalities. Activists may wreck artworks illustrating concepts that they find politically unpalatable. On 8th March 1986 two feminist protestors observed International Women’s Day by pouring paint stripper over *Chair* by Allen Jones in the Tate Gallery (Plates 20 and 21).⁶⁹ This fibreglass sculpture, which features a submissively-posed female mannequin, appeared to offend the assailants’ socio-political principles. Mutilating it provided an emotive and apt focus for the promotion of women’s rights.

The final category of destruction perpetrated to make a political or socio-political point affects artworks with a controversial provenance. Such an attack occurred at an exhibition opening in Berlin’s Hamburger Bahnhof on 22nd September 2004, when a protester physically assaulted Gordon Matta-Clark’s installations *Office Baroque* and *Graffiti Truck*.⁷⁰ It is of little consequence that only Matta-Clark’s works were damaged. Theoretically, any of the pieces on display could have been struck, since they all belonged to the Flick Collection. The heir of a notorious Nazi industrialist who employed slave labourers in his weapons factories, Friedrich Christian Flick is a contentious arts patron. Prior to the incident in Berlin, galleries in Zurich, Dresden and Munich had declined hosting Flick’s modern and contemporary art collection amid protests that it was funded by his dubious inheritance.⁷¹

The woman who attacked Matta-Clark’s installations sought to draw attention to this ongoing controversy, and so prevent Flick from ‘whitewashing’ the historical source of his private wealth. Damaging Flick’s possessions may even have been her way of taking revenge on Flick himself. The exclamation that she reportedly uttered immediately afterwards: “Flick, now I forgive you!” suggests a cathartic function to the protest.⁷² While this gesture may not have satisfied other critics of Flick, it

reignited the issue of the payment of reparations by Nazi descendents, and stimulated debate among museums with regard to their role in the matter.⁷³

In recent years, museums and galleries have begun addressing political and socio-political concerns more actively. Exhibitions that engage with current affairs are now quite prevalent, and a growing number of museums are promoting themselves as venues for public discussion. This democratic trend is well-illustrated by the increasing use of discussion boards among displays, where visitors are encouraged to share their views and responses on post-it notes. Other institutions have taken bolder steps, providing dedicated spaces for visitors to participate in debates.⁷⁴ As Richard Sandell observes, there is “growing international interest in the potential for museums, and their agential capacities, to be brought to bear on wide-ranging social issues and concerns”.⁷⁵ Creating opportunities for visitors to reflect on and discuss themes like immigration, freedom of speech and domestic violence enables galleries to contribute to a more equitable society, and thereby reinforces their contemporary relevance.

From the perspective of curbing iconoclasm, this could be interpreted as a positive development. Activists who are given a platform to voice their opinions might be less likely to translate feelings of grievance or hostility into physical violence.

Yet this is not a foregone conclusion. Jürgen Habermas has written extensively on the legitimacy of civil disobedience as a means of upholding democratic principles. When liberties are denied by the authorities, either through civil rights violations or inadequacies in deliberative democratic procedures, he believes that acts of symbolic law-breaking are justified as a last resort.⁷⁶ According to Habermas’s theory, the true champions of democracy are not law-abiding citizens, but members of the public who are prepared to stand against the policies of the constitutional state. Civil disobedience is a necessary feature of political culture, insists Habermas, because it is the “guardian of legitimacy”.⁷⁷ For modern museums, this has an uncomfortable implication: an institution that aims to foster a genuinely democratic atmosphere must be ready to tolerate civil disobedience among its visitors.

Presumably, by re-modelling themselves as venues for political and socio-political debate, museums intend to stimulate visitors’ interest in current affairs. They encourage audiences to consider different perspectives, question their own personal assumptions and challenge certain conventions. In most instances, this kind of

engagement will be reflective and conversational, but there is a risk of provoking more extreme behaviour. It is not hard to imagine that a gallery's emphasis on civil matters could embolden an activist to highlight a particular cause by striking an artwork on display. Under these circumstances, the gallery's position as a public platform would make its collections more vulnerable. And, with the gallery advancing its democratic principles, it would appear hypocritical to reject the validity of such a protest.

Whether or not an act of iconoclasm can be legitimised as civil disobedience is contentious. Habermas only defends law-breakers on the condition that their conduct is symbolic and non-violent, but he admits that these qualities are open to interpretation.⁷⁸ Iris Young identifies the same problem; she queries the meaning of the term 'non-violent', noting that the acceptability of different protest tactics is "much disputed".⁷⁹ Perhaps, in practice, this is a redundant point. Even if attacks on art are unjustifiable on the grounds of civil disobedience, the risk still remains. Activists will still be drawn to institutions that offer them the freedom to air their views in public, and some may choose to damage exhibits to demonstrate the strength of their convictions and generate maximum publicity.

This is not to say that the museum sector's current drive towards political engagement should be reversed, or that its ambition to provide opportunities for debate should be curtailed. These developments are already starting to underpin a dynamic and valuable new role for cultural institutions within modern society. However, the potentially hazardous repercussions of this shift must be acknowledged. As galleries continue to tackle civil rights and pursue notions of democracy, the threat of iconoclasm calls for increased levels of vigilance.

From a preventive viewpoint, it is worthwhile examining the breadth of iconoclastic incidents undertaken along activist lines. The previous case studies reveal the key types of art endangered by this phenomenon. Unfortunately, refining the list of possible targets further is problematic. Such pre-emption requires a constantly high degree of awareness towards groups who might employ iconoclasm to make their voices heard. For cultural institutions this venture would be time-consuming and never wholly reliable. Some risks are predictable, but many are not. Staff at the National Gallery, for example, could not have been expected to foresee that Rembrandt's *Self Portrait at the Age of 63* would be daubed with paint on 4th August 1998 by a nudist protester.⁸⁰

Not all publicity-seeking is undertaken in the name of political or socio-political causes. Sometimes iconoclasts wish simply to draw attention to themselves and their personal circumstances, and acts carried out for this reason are even harder to anticipate.

In 356BC a man called Herostratos recognised that destroying great cultural symbols inevitably arouses public attention.⁸¹ He set fire to the temple of Artemis in Ephesus, burning the structure to the ground. Herostratos's motive was to ensure that his name would be preserved in posterity, that the infamy of his actions would outlive him. This classical episode is an illuminating precursor to iconoclasm undertaken in museums and galleries for egocentric ends.

In some cases, people strike paintings or sculptures to gain the immediate notice of other visitors. They are compelled by the expectation that, for a few moments before they are apprehended and removed, they will be the centre of attention. This not only pertains to narcissists who are intent on surprising strangers, it applies to visitors who are keen to impress peers with their daring.⁸² Other iconoclasts harbour more long-term goals, based on exceeding their allocated 'fifteen minutes of fame'. These individuals tend to cause the most severe instances of mutilation. They can be determined to mark an artwork permanently, as testimony to their own existence, or else, like Herostratos, they can aspire to perform an attack so audacious that its legend will endure in perpetuity.

Walter Menzl represents this second type of offender. On 26th February 1959 he threw a large quantity of acid at the *Fall of the Damned into Hell* by Rubens, while it hung in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (Plates 22 and 23).⁸³ Menzl's precise motive is difficult to discern. On one hand, he wished to publicise his philosophical literary output, which he felt had been subjected to a campaign of suppression. On the other hand, he wanted to alert people to a utopian world peace scheme that he had formulated.⁸⁴ Either way, his actions were dominated by an egocentric craving for attention. On trial, Menzl told the judge that he had wanted to startle the world, and that he had hoped to feature on television.⁸⁵ He later admitted that he had also thought about committing suicide or colouring the Bodensee to attract public notice.

It is interesting to note that having ruined Rubens's famous painting Menzl did not wait to be caught, but fled the building instead. This decision is not often taken by iconoclasts who act to highlight a cause, but perhaps Menzl worried that an immediate arrest would not allow him sufficient time to broadcast his motives.

Escaping enabled him to generate more publicity. He had already sent his confession to press agencies, and after the attack he telephoned the gallery admitting to the crime. Menzl gave himself up to police the following day, when reports of his deed had been circulated fully.⁸⁶

The destruction of *Fall of the Damned into Hell* made worldwide news. The damage to one of the Alte Pinakothek's "proudest possessions" was extensive, with the acid running the length of the canvas.⁸⁷ Ultimately, though, Menzl was denied his place in history. Ruben's painting was restored, and memory of its assailant gradually faded into obscurity.

A variation upon the rationale of personal publicity-seeking occurs when assailants are inspired by individual hardship rather than a craving to be recognised. These iconoclasts are normally concerned with drawing attention to themselves and staging a plea to be lifted out of poverty. In the years preceding the First World War several such assaults were undertaken by destitute people in France. The case of Valentine Contrel is a good example.⁸⁸

On 12th September 1907 Contrel entered the Louvre and mutilated Ingres's unglazed painting *The Sistine Chapel* with a pair of scissors (Plate 24).⁸⁹ Contrel was a former governess who had become unemployed and fallen on hard times. It could be argued that she wrecked the painting to present her wretched circumstances as part of a wider socio-political complaint about the lack of provision available to help France's poor. On trial she reportedly told a magistrate: "It is a shame to see so much money invested in dead things like those at the Louvre collections when so many poor devils like myself starve because they cannot find work".⁹⁰ Yet Contrel's gesture was, in fact, self-serving. Ultimately, she confessed that she had committed the crime because she wanted to be sent to jail; imprisonment would be preferable to destitution on the streets.

The deliberate aim of being incarcerated, and so ensured shelter and food, continues to be pursued. In 1982 a young man, who had left home amid family disputes and found himself penniless in London, decided as a last resort that prison would be better than homelessness. Paul Williams reasoned that the destruction of artworks would merit a jail sentence, whilst not causing harm to other people. Thus motivated, he slashed the National Gallery's *Sun Rising Through Vapour* by Turner and *Landscape: The Marriage of Isaac and Rebekah (The Mill)* by Claude on 27th March (Plate 25).⁹¹ Williams was arrested, but following his trial he was not

imprisoned. He received two years probation and returned home having been reconciled with his family. The paintings did not fare so lightly, with both undergoing costly restorations.⁹²

Attacks carried out by people intent on attracting attention to themselves and their personal circumstances are highly idiosyncratic. The target, manner and timing of an assault all depend on the assailant's egocentric whims. As this chapter has demonstrated so far, anticipating any iconoclastic incident which is dominated by the character, circumstances or concerns of the perpetrator is extremely difficult. However, when an attacker is prompted by religious convictions, the situation may be easier for museums to predict and forestall.

From a historical perspective, it would be inconceivable to discuss motives behind iconoclasm without addressing religious belief. Since the Byzantine era the destruction of images has been inextricably linked to religious debate over whether it is appropriate to create material representations of the divine.⁹³ The decree expressed in the second commandment: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness *of any thing* that *is* in heaven above,"⁹⁴ has caused the history of Christianity to be blighted by episodes of violence against religious representations. As Anne McClanan and Jeffrey Johnson point out, such images continue to be banned in certain strains of Judaism, Islam, Buddhism and Christianity as "misleading or degrading misconstruals".⁹⁵

Despite this context, it is unusual for visitors to strike artworks in Western galleries on the basis of prohibitions against divine imagery. This is not to say that attackers are never spurred on by religious beliefs, or that art is never targeted for its religious content. On the contrary, within the last decade the contemporary art world has seen an apparent escalation of assaults upon paintings, sculptures and installations depicting sacred subjects. In these recent cases, religious themes are not so much the problem, as the way in which they are interpreted by artists.

One such episode arose in 1999, when the exhibition 'Sensation: Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection' was loaned to the Brooklyn Museum of Art. Days before its opening on 2nd October 1999, New York's Catholic mayor, Rudolph Giuliani, branded the exhibition "sick stuff" and "blasphemous".⁹⁶ Although Giuliani had not personally viewed 'Sensation', he threatened that he would withhold the city's \$7.2 million annual contribution to the museum unless the show was censored. The mayor further warned that the museum would not receive money for

structural improvements, its board of trustees would be dismissed and its premises would be reclaimed. When his demand was rejected, funding was withheld and a legal conflict ensued.

Giuliani's series of threats derived essentially from his reaction to one collage: *The Holy Virgin Mary* by Chris Ofili (Plate 26). This work depicts a black Madonna in glittering robes, one breast exposed and adorned with a ball of elephant dung. The image is sexualised by the absence of a child and the pornographic cut-outs that resemble butterflies. Arnold Lehman, the Director of the Brooklyn Museum of Art, explained that the work intended to "venerate the Virgin Mary as the nourisher of black Africa".⁹⁷ But neither this interpretation, nor the fact that Ofili was a practicing Roman Catholic abated Mayor Giuliani's outrage. He maintained that the unorthodox image was "desecrating" the Catholic faith.⁹⁸

On 1st November 1999 a judge ruled in favour of the museum, defending its First Amendment right to show controversial art without fear of government interference or reprisal. Regardless, the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights continued to stage protests outside the building, and a Plexiglas screen was installed in front of *The Holy Virgin Mary* as a precaution.

The controversy reached its perhaps inevitable climax on 16th December. Fuelled by the Mayor's emotive accusations of blasphemy, a devout pensioner named Dennis Heiner climbed behind the protective screen and smeared Ofili's collage with white paint (Plate 27).⁹⁹ Heiner's wife accounted for his actions. "We thought it was a lack of respect for the mother of Christ to be painted that way and be treated that way", she explained, "the man who painted it showed very poor taste and very little respect for the representation of the Virgin Mary".¹⁰⁰ Though it remains unclear which aspect of the image most offended the couple, Heiner evidently rationalised that by obliterating Ofili's Virgin, he could somehow reverse the sacrilege committed.

The Holy Virgin Mary was restored with relative ease. Nonetheless, these circumstances aggravated a swelling anxiety around displaying potentially contentious religious art. The National Gallery of Australia in Canberra cancelled plans to host 'Sensation' the following year.¹⁰¹

Gamboni asserts that religious motives behind acts of iconoclasm have become increasingly combined with political and economic concerns.¹⁰² An indication of this development was present in the case of *The Holy Virgin Mary*. Heiner's attack may have been driven purely by religious devotion, but Giuliani's

vendetta demonstrated elements of political posturing. The validity of Gamboni's claim is assured, however, by recent events in Russia.

On 18th January 2003 six men entered the exhibition 'Caution: Religion!' at the Andre Sakharov Museum and Public Centre in Moscow and poured red paint over the displays.¹⁰³ The targeted works included a sculpture of a church constructed out of empty vodka bottles, and an illuminated poster that depicted Jesus in a Coca-Cola advertisement declaring: "This is my blood" (Plate 28). Having wrecked the exhibits, the iconoclasts daubed the gallery walls with the messages: "Blasphemy", "You hate Orthodoxy" and "You are damned".

One year later, a comparable raid was made on the exhibition 'Contemporary Icons' at the S.P.A.S Gallery in St Petersburg.¹⁰⁴ A group of assailants threw ink and paint over works by Oleg Yanushevsky that presented personalities like George Bush and Arnold Schwarzenegger as the modern equivalent of holy figures. Those responsible denounced the pieces as insulting the Russian Orthodox Church.

Although, on a superficial level, these attacks were perpetrated for religious reasons, they were as much determined by politics. They differ from the defacement of *The Holy Virgin Mary* because, while Giuliani probably approved privately of Heiner's act, he did not sanction it outright. Church leaders and politicians endorsed the raids in Russia openly. The St Petersburg prosecutor refused to investigate the ransacking of the S.P.A.S Gallery.¹⁰⁵ Events in Moscow proved even stranger. Not only were criminal charges dropped and the culprits promoted as heroes by the Russian Orthodox Church, but blame was transferred onto the organisers of 'Caution: Religion!'. In March 2005 two employees of the Sakharov Museum were found guilty of inciting religious hatred and fined 100,000 roubles each.¹⁰⁶

These circumstances are indicative of the renewed power of the Orthodox Church in Russia, facilitated through its connections to Vladimir Putin. According to this affiliation, any challenge to traditional Orthodox values is considered criticism of the Russian government, and efforts to suppress such subversion demonstrate loyalty to Church and State alike. It is not coincidental that the raiders of 'Caution: Religion!' belonged to a congregation with strong ties to President Putin.¹⁰⁷

The political dimension inherent in the display and reception of contemporary religious art in Russia has influenced the conduct of galleries there. In October 2005 *Icon-caviar* by Alexander Kosolapov was removed from Moscow's New Tretyakov Gallery following receipt of a petition from fifty religious complainants. Signatories

were not interested in Kosolapov's claims that his work was "a metaphor for the Russian spirit" rather than a religious statement.¹⁰⁸ They threatened to "take their own measures" unless *Icon-caviar* was censored.¹⁰⁹ To ensure the safety of the art and keep the political peace, the gallery acquiesced to their demands.

Similar scenarios are starting to emerge internationally. The display of a six-foot high chocolate sculpture of Jesus entitled *My Sweet Lord* was cancelled at the Lab Gallery in New York in March 2007 when Catholic critics complained that it was sacrilegious (Plate 29). Bill Donahue, president of the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights, described the work as "one of the worst, most vile, obscene and blasphemous assaults on Christian sensibilities".¹¹⁰ Negative publicity prompted the Lab to shelve its plans, but it was also influenced by more physical concerns. After *My Sweet Lord* had been removed, the sculptor, Cosimo Cavallaro, found it necessary to store the piece in a secret location for fear that it might be destroyed by "fanatics".¹¹¹

Artworks which interpret sacred themes in a novel or challenging way are prone to both threats of violence and actual assaults at the hands of religious devotees. If galleries pre-emptively exclude such works from display, much harm and expense can be avoided. But is this desirable?

In September 2005 Tate Britain's attempt to avoid religious and political controversy backfired in a storm of protest. Following the London bombings on 7th July, the Tate decided to omit John Latham's *God is Great (No.2)* from a retrospective exhibition of his *oeuvre* (Plate 30).¹¹² A glass piece featuring sections of the Koran, Bible and Talmud, *God is Great* was deemed at risk of causing unintentional offence to Muslim viewers. Withdrawal spared the work from any potential attacks, but artists and civil rights groups were quick to voice their opposition. Latham accused the Tate of "cowardice", and the group Liberty objected that the decision conveyed a worrying stance on freedom of expression.¹¹³ Tate Britain negotiated its way past one controversy, and stumbled into another. This example is testimony to the growing reluctance of galleries to address contemporary religious issues. It is also a reminder that curators sometimes walk a narrow line between preserving artistic freedom and protecting the physical well-being of works in their care.

Moral boundaries are another emotive stimulus behind acts of iconoclasm. When an artwork exhibited in public is judged to be immoral it often kindles anger or

horror in viewers, and may prompt them to carry out destruction for their own peace of mind and the perceived benefit of others. By defacing such a work, they envisage that its shocking power will be muted, if not extinguished entirely. Sometimes it is possible to anticipate those pieces that risk provocation. In June 1995, when Gustave Courbet's *The Origin of the World* was unveiled at the Musée d'Orsay, the painting was glazed and allocated its own security guard.¹¹⁴ Officials suspected that its sexually explicit content might stir moral outrage. Making predictions is not always straightforward though.

On 15th December 1890 Carey Judson Warbington was compelled to violence by *The Return of Spring (Le Printemps)*, a large painting of an allegorical nude by William Bouguereau in the Lininger Gallery, Omaha (Plate 31).¹¹⁵ Acting spontaneously, Warbington threw a nearby chair at the canvas, puncturing it in two places. He believed that its subject was obscene. "It is not a proper picture to hang in a public place", Warbington protested, adding that he had only ever seen such images "in houses of ill-fame".¹¹⁶ Aside from his own objections, he felt obliged to protect the virtue of female viewers from the nude's indecency. "I should not like for my mother or my sister to see such a picture" he explained.

Later commentators like Alfred Werner have empathised with this moral stance, referring to *The Return of Spring* as "the height of Victorian sexual hypocrisy".¹¹⁷ Yet most of Warbington's contemporaries could not comprehend why he had deemed the artwork immoral. As one writer noted, *The Return of Spring* was considered a "charming allegory", a picture "which could arouse offensive ideas only in a mind of the basest lewdness".¹¹⁸ Warbington was thus presented not only as a philistine, but as a degenerate himself.

In many modern-day cases there is less ambiguity about the offensive nature of iconoclastic targets. Some contemporary artworks are virtually guaranteed to offend, by not just addressing, but revelling in provocative themes like sexuality and death. For a case study which highlights the problems of allowing artists *carte blanche* with subject matter, it is enlightening to return to 'Sensation'.

Before 'Sensation' stoked controversy in New York, it debuted at the Royal Academy in London. In 1997, British audiences were no more accepting of the exhibition than Americans would be two years later, but the focus of their objections was quite different. Most outrage was reserved for Marcus Harvey's painting *Myra* (Plate 32). This large reproduction of a notorious police photograph of the 1960s

child murderer Myra Hindley, composed of children's handprints, was regarded widely as morally remiss. One critic contended that the portrait "could not have been more deliberately controversial and provocative".¹¹⁹ Protesters picketed outside the Royal Academy on the opening day of the show, calling for *Myra* to be excluded. In the following weeks, windows were smashed and four Royal Academicians resigned.¹²⁰ The affair resulted in two separate iconoclastic attacks, perpetrated within hours of each other on 18th September.¹²¹

In the first incident, Peter Fisher threw red and blue ink at the painting. In the second, Jacques Role hurled an egg at it. *Myra* was subsequently withdrawn for restoration, only returning to display with a Perspex protective screen and designated attendants.

That *Myra* should have suffered these assaults is unsurprising. Not only was its subject matter offensive to many people, but its manner of display was confrontational. The painting was hung so that it could be seen from a distance, framed by the gallery's neoclassical doorways (Plate 33). This conspicuous positioning created an aura of reverence around the portrait, which contrasted starkly with its reviled subject. Peter Fisher later commented that he had struck the work because he believed it was "glorifying the crimes of a monster".¹²²

Jacques Role's criticism of the decision to display *Myra* was even more explicit. "There is a limit when an artist profits in terms of fame or money from the death or torture of children", he asserted.¹²³ These words suggest that his protest was not only directed at Marcus Harvey, but at all artists who assume that they are entitled to create profitable art within a moral vacuum. Role intended to show that, at least in the public's eyes, artists and their output are not immune to censure. This reproach applies implicitly to the cultural institutions that support such work and profit in return. Staging 'Sensation' did the Royal Academy little lasting harm. As Sandy Nairne points out, it stimulated strong attendance figures and provided a much needed financial boost.¹²⁴ Challenging preconceptions and encouraging debate is the duty of venues that host avant-garde contemporary art, but it is morally reprehensible to court controversy deliberately in order to generate publicity. And there were those who suspected that, by exhibiting art like *Myra*, the Royal Academy was doing just that.¹²⁵

Here, the question of censorship arises again. Being able to anticipate that *Myra* would inflame moral sensibilities, and possibly lead to violence, should the Royal Academy have proceeded with its display? The answer is not clear-cut. As

with subversive religious art, galleries that opt to exhibit morally contentious works face a dilemma. It is, essentially, a choice between safeguarding the principle or the substance of the piece. The Royal Academy chose not to censor *Myra*, and kept it on display after the first attack by Peter Fisher. It championed Harvey's right to self-expression steadfastly, but the cost was further damage to the painting. Another gallery might have removed *Myra* from view, but this manoeuvre would have compromised artistic freedom.

No matter how inevitable the targets of this type of iconoclasm may be, the circumstances of assaults are not necessarily foreseeable. *Snow White and the Madness of Truth* by Dror Feiler and Gunilla Sköld Feiler was a predictably controversial installation to be commissioned for Stockholm's Museum of Antiquities ahead of a conference on genocide (Plate 34). It consisted of a small boat floating in a pool of red liquid while Bach's *Mein Herze Schwimmt im Blut* (*My Heart Swims in Blood*) played aloft. The sail of the boat featured a photograph of a Palestinian female suicide bomber who killed herself and twenty-two others in a Haifa restaurant in October 2003. *Snow White* was provocative. However, museum officials could not have guessed that it would be sabotaged by the Israeli ambassador to Sweden.¹²⁶

On 16th January 2004 Zvi Mazel attended the opening of the exhibition 'Making Differences'. Having viewed *Snow White*, he asked that a member of staff remove it. Mazel's request was denied, whereupon he unplugged three spotlights surrounding the work and pushed one into the pool, causing it to short-circuit. Afterwards, Mazel justified his conduct towards the installation: "For me it was intolerable and an insult to the families of the victims. As ambassador to Israel I could not remain indifferent to such an obscene misrepresentation of reality. This was not a piece of art. This was a monstrosity".¹²⁷

Mazel was not just upset that a suicide bomber should be the focus of an artwork. He further interpreted *Snow White* as an anti-Semitic "call for genocide".¹²⁸ Dror Feiler, an expatriate Israeli himself, refuted these allegations, stating that he was "absolutely opposed" to the glorification of suicide bombers, and that the installation's message was one of openness and conciliation.¹²⁹ Indeed, while most critics felt that *Snow White* was in poor taste, few could comprehend how it could be seen as a rallying cry to mass murder. Nevertheless, Mazel's conviction that he was defending Jewish rights struck a political chord. Ariel Sharon praised his initiative publicly, and the Swedish Prime Minister was bombarded with emails petitioning for

the removal of *Snow White*.¹³⁰ An act of aggression against one artwork escalated into an international diplomatic dispute.

This episode suggests that no one is immune to the urge to destroy art that seemingly contravenes moral boundaries, not even diplomats. Following Mazel's outburst, the Swedish Minister of Culture commented that, although some people can experience anger or depression when viewing art, meeting this anger with violence is unacceptable.¹³¹ Her assertions were aired in vain. Sometimes outrage is experienced so keenly that people find it impossible not to translate their emotions automatically into physical aggression.

In 1995 Neil Harris opened his article 'Exhibiting Controversy' by asking if it is ever feasible "for museums deliberately to avoid all controversy in their choice of exhibitions".¹³² He concluded that it was not. An artwork's form can kindle dispute as readily as its subject matter. It is worth speculating on the outcome of the above case study had Dror Feiler's work not been an installation. If *Snow White and the Madness of Truth* had been an oil painting that Mazel considered to be promoting the murder of Jews, would his gesture have been endorsed so widely? Would the ambassador have attacked it at all? It could be argued that because *Snow White* was an installation of integrated visual and auditory components, and not a more traditional art form, its chance of being targeted was increased. Perhaps significantly, Mazel declared in justification of his act: "This was not a piece of art".¹³³

The development of avant-garde art has always involved the exploration of new modes of artistic expression. However, experimentation often leads to dissatisfaction among audiences. Art that digresses too far from conventional forms can elicit suspicion and hostility, and even claims that it is not art at all. Disagreements over what constitutes art are not a new phenomenon. In 1877 John Ruskin famously derided James McNeill Whistler's *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket* as "flinging a pot of paint in the public's face".¹³⁴ Ruskin was opposed to the painting's impressionistic style and apparent lack of craftsmanship, but also to the fact that Whistler asked 200 guineas for it. The artist responded by suing him for libel.¹³⁵ Such disputes continued into the 20th century. In 1913 a group of conservative art students were so dismayed at an exhibition of progressive works by Henri Matisse at the Chicago Institute of Arts that they burned effigies of his paintings *Luxe* and *Nu Bleu* in protest.¹³⁶ In more recent decades this reactionary mentality has led to the destruction of original artworks.

Gamboni proposes that many incidents of modern-day iconoclasm stem from the frustration of viewers who are unable or unwilling to understand the aesthetic or financial value of avant-garde art.¹³⁷ Contemporary works situated outdoors are victimised particularly for this reason. *Polaris* by David Mach, for example, was burned on London's South Bank on 21st August 1983 by a man who felt that a sculpture of a submarine fashioned out of five thousand used tyres was not truly art.¹³⁸ The installation of cutting-edge pieces in civic locations often means that the public's experience of them is involuntary. People going about their daily business can feel encroached upon by structures that they do not consider artistic, but have been foisted upon them by higher authorities. Their resentment may, consequently, find expression through iconoclasm.

Similar attacks also occur in museums and galleries, where interaction with art is, presumably, voluntary. This is not as contradictory as it first sounds. Visitors can harbour preconceptions regarding the types of art that ought to be found in galleries; treasures that are sufficiently valuable, famous or aesthetically acclaimed to merit public display. They may also have traditionalist tastes, favouring works with readily discernable subjects over non-figurative exhibits. If viewers' expectations and preferences are disappointed, and they feel unable to voice criticism for fear of appearing culturally backward, they can experience frustration, which may precipitate into violence.

The public reception of Carl Andre's *Equivalent VIII* exemplifies this.¹³⁹ Bought in 1972 by the Tate Gallery for an estimated £6000, *Equivalent VIII* is a Minimalist sculpture consisting of 120 firebricks arranged in a shallow rectangle (Plate 35). As Frances Colpitt explains, Minimalist sculpture was contentious from its inception; such was the severity of its schism from pre-1960s sculpture, which was "implicitly if not explicitly figurative".¹⁴⁰ The critic John Canaday was among those who doubted the validity of Minimalism. In a review of Donald Judd's first exhibition in 1963 he wrote: "This show is merely an excellent example of 'avant-garde' non-art that tries to achieve meaning by a pretentious lack of meaning".¹⁴¹ Over a decade later, the Tate Gallery still had difficulty in converting audiences to Minimalism. Richard Morphet, the Deputy Keeper of the Modern Collection, justified the acquisition of *Equivalent VIII* on the grounds that it was an "important work" both conceptually and physically.¹⁴² Yet the artwork proved too radical for many observers, who regarded it simply as an austere formation of bricks. For the

uninitiated, without adequate means of interpretation, *Equivalent VIII* was incomprehensible and alienating.

Although the actual purchase of Andre's sculpture passed by relatively unnoticed, the press drew attention to it in February 1976, and public scorn spread rapidly thereafter.¹⁴³ Opposition was based on two principles. Firstly, there were suspicions that it was not a work of art. *Equivalent VIII* did not demonstrate signs of traditional craftsmanship. It suggested that anyone could produce art and anyone could call themselves an artist, and, thus, it was deemed to make a mockery of the traditionalist canon of art history. It was not a sculpture, but a rather insulting joke. Secondly, there was the question of value. That the Tate had paid thousands of pounds for an arrangement of bricks was not only considered foolish, but irresponsible at a time of recession in the UK economy. The controversy culminated on 23rd February 1976, when Peter Stowell-Phillips sprayed blue dye over the sculpture.¹⁴⁴ "I'm a taxpayer", he asserted, "I'm incensed that this pile of bricks was bought with public money".¹⁴⁵

Another attack prompted by the disagreement over what constitutes art occurred in Germany in 1982. On 13th April Josef Kleer entered the Nationalgalerie in Berlin while it was closed to the public and struck Barnett Newman's abstract painting *Who's Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue IV* with a section of a plastic barrier (Plate 36).¹⁴⁶ Kleer further assaulted the canvas with his hands and feet, spat at it, and placed a selection of documents nearby before leaving. Although Kleer was mentally ill, and his motivations were somewhat haphazard, the most significant aspect of his justification was his opposition to the painting's recent acquisition.¹⁴⁷

Who's Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue IV had sparked controversy when it was bought for 2.7 million marks. Newman's bold use of uninterrupted colour appeared simplistic to many, and encouraged speculation that the work was not worthy of its high price. Kleer was one such critic. Prior to his attack, he had been doubtful of the praise bestowed on the canvas and questioned a museum attendant on it.¹⁴⁸ The attendant apparently replied: "If it cost three million DM, then it must be art indeed!". According to Kleer, this response caused him to experience a fear that money had overturned the rational order of values. He envisaged gallery visitors venerating the painting like the Israelites worshipping the Golden Calf, and decided that he must act.

Public objections towards costly acquisitions are not restricted to modern and contemporary art. During the funding appeal for the purchase of the *Rokeby Venus* in

1905, Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower complained that the nation was being “hoodwinked by a small artistic clique into the folly of subscribing such a stupendous sum”.¹⁴⁹ Ultimately, though, most people conceded that Velázquez was a great artist and the *Rokeby Venus* was a great work of art. Andre and Newman were considered very differently. There was substantial opposition to proposals that these artists were great, or that their output was even art. The notion of spending so much money on their work was harder for the public to accept.

Doubts of this kind are not only harboured outside the art world. In some instances, traditional artists are motivated to attack formally experimental pieces. On 11th December 2001, an artist named Jacqueline Crofton was banned from Tate Britain for throwing eggs at Martin Creed’s installation *Work 227: The Lights Going On and Off*.¹⁵⁰ Crofton claimed that it was an outrage that an empty room with two flashing lights could be considered for, let alone win, the Turner Prize. Although she insisted that she had no personal animosity towards Creed, she told the press that she did not see his creations as art. “At worst, *The Lights Going On and Off* is an electrical work”, she asserted, “at best, it is philosophy”.¹⁵¹ The reasoning behind Crofton’s protest was not merely academic. She believed that such works threatened the livelihood of traditional artists like herself. When people with influence in the art world supported “manufacturers of gimmicks” it caused “genuine artists” to be excluded from critical and commercial success. Perceiving *The Lights Going On and Off* to be symbolic of this threat, Crofton had to “make a stand” against it.

The fact that even some artists do not recognise avant-garde compositions as art does not bode well for their acceptance by the public. As Marianne MacDonald writes, “There is little that attracts such virulent criticism as the purchase of cutting-edge modern art [...] funded by the taxpayer”.¹⁵² With disagreements over what constitutes art continually resurfacing, it is likely that associated acts of iconoclasm will remain an ongoing concern.

By its nature the art industry is competitive, and there are several sources of tension between artists that, when taken to extremes, may provoke one artist to assault another’s work. Traditional artists who are unappreciative of, or feel threatened by, the avant-garde may be compelled to damage radical exhibits. A more basic root of violence is artistic envy. It would not be inappropriate to suggest that Jacqueline Crofton was driven partially by jealousy of Martin Creed’s success. After all, she justified her assault as supporting the interests of conventional artists; those who

could not expect to win the Turner Prize, or the money and acclaim that derives from it. The fact that Creed had won the coveted accolade with seemingly minimal effort, while Crofton's laborious work was not rewarded, must have been especially galling for her.

As a principal motive, artistic envy is awkward to quantify or analyse. Few perpetrators admit to acting upon such a base compulsion, and the resulting lack of sound case studies makes it difficult to draw wider inferences. This motive still warrants its own brief discussion though.

The idea that the discontent aroused in one artist by another's better fortune could provoke an attack on the more successful artist's work is not hard to imagine. On this subject Gamboni brings to light 'The Portrait', a short story by Nicolaï Gogol from *Tales of Good and Evil*.¹⁵³ The tale describes a fashionable painter called Chartkov, who abandons his trade and develops a "horrible envy" for those possessed of true artistic talent. Gripped by jealousy, Chartkov begins buying great artworks in order to destroy them, a pursuit which brings him immense pleasure.¹⁵⁴ The story suggests that by mutilating art better than his own, the painter alleviates his creative frustration. Chartkov proves that the creations of great artists are not untouchable, and thereby redresses the balance of power in his favour.

Non-fictional accounts of destruction prompted by artistic jealousy do exist. Piero Cannata came to prominence on 14th September 1991, when he hammered off the tip of one toe on Michelangelo's *David* in the Galleria dell' Accademia in Florence (Plates 37 and 38).¹⁵⁵ The failed artist explained that he was "jealous of Michelangelo".¹⁵⁶ In Italy one is surrounded by the legacies of celebrated artists, and Cannata's artistic inadequacies would have been cast into sharp relief. It is entirely plausible that when he looked upon Michelangelo's iconic sculpture he experienced some sort of frustrated jealousy, which he could only subdue by damaging its source. Following the attack, Cannata proceeded to harm famous paintings and sculptures across Italy, including *Undulating Paths* by Jackson Pollock.¹⁵⁷ However, despite strong evidence, this case cannot be classed definitively as one of artistic envy; Cannata's mental illness at the time of the assault on *David* clouds interpretation of his motives.

Another relevant episode, which at least is not complicated by mental illness, occurred in 1978. On 5th April an anonymous man armed with a knife entered the Stedelijk Museum and sliced Vincent Van Gogh's painting *La Berçeuse* in three

places (Plate 39).¹⁵⁸ The assailant was a struggling local painter. He felt excluded by the art establishment and had recently been dealt a blow by the termination of a city subsidy for artists. Repeatedly thwarted in his attempts to achieve success, he turned his aggression on Van Gogh, one of the Netherlands' most celebrated painters.

While this man refused to make any statements, it is conceivable that he targeted *La Berçeuse* as a symbol of the contrast in fortunes that he perceived between Van Gogh and himself. Beholding the picture hanging in the Stedelijk may have stirred resentment that his own works were not thus applauded by the establishment, and, with the termination of his subsidy, possibly never would be. Then again, the painter could equally have been acting to highlight the injustice of his personal circumstances. It may simply have been a protest at the loss of his grant. The slashing of *La Berçeuse* is as much an example of personal publicity seeking as an indication of jealousy. It is impossible to define this case as one guided principally by artistic envy.

In the article 'Massacre of the Innocents', Brett Gorvy reflects on the increasingly exalted status of works by famous artists displayed in museums. "We no longer simply admire the clever handiwork of a Leonardo or a Raphael", Gorvy asserts, "Instead we pay homage to a revered cultural icon, a national treasure whose very inclusion in so hallowed a forum is a testimony of its own gravitas".¹⁵⁹ With audiences worshipping the *oeuvres* of well-known artists, it is little wonder that artists struggling for recognition sometimes succumb to jealousy and acts of desperation. Owing to the internalised nature of artistic envy, it is impossible to gauge how serious a problem this motive is. It frequently coincides with, and is concealed by, other compulsions. Even so, as the status and value of art continues to rise, it should not be overlooked.

Another cause of iconoclasm, which has emerged in recent years as a significant threat, also stems from the relationships between individual artists. It is far more complex than envy. On 28th February 1974 a young artist sprayed the words "KILL LIES ALL" onto Picasso's 1937 painting *Guernica* in the Museum of Modern Art in New York (Plates 40 and 41).¹⁶⁰ Although the specific meaning of this unusual message remains unclear, its author, Tony Shafrazi, was careful to clarify his intention. He was not jealous of Picasso's success, nor was he protesting conservatively that *Guernica* was not art. Shafrazi was not even signifying a rejection of the artistic accomplishments of his predecessors. Instead, the artist wanted "to

bring the art absolutely up to date, to retrieve it from art history and give it life”.¹⁶¹ Shafrazi said that he was making the ‘hackneyed’ image relevant again, compelling people to look at it afresh. Entering into a creative dialogue with Picasso, he did not see himself to be damaging the work, but enhancing it; his ‘*Guernica* action’ was an innovative contribution to Picasso’s legacy. In short, Shafrazi’s gesture was a work of art in its own right.

Since this attack, and particularly within the last fifteen years, there has been a proliferation of instances where iconoclasts have claimed to be creating either conceptual or performance art. Not only has this rationale become remarkably prevalent, it has proved extremely difficult for museums and galleries to curb. Before analysing any case studies, it is necessary to discuss this motive’s theoretical context to better elucidate the problems that it poses.

The vague romantic notion of the affinity between artistic creation and artistic destruction is commonly held. As Dillon says, the idea that “there is something subconscious and inspired at work is the cultural trope that links artist and iconoclast in a strange doubling”.¹⁶² This point may have substance. Allen and Greenberger’s ‘Aesthetic Theory of Vandalism’ states that the variables which make artistic creation a pleasurable experience echo those responsible for the enjoyment derived from destructive behaviour.¹⁶³ If they are correct, it would be natural for someone engaged in one activity to be attracted to the other. This proposal appears to be supported by the theory and practice that has shaped the development of modern art. Since the 19th century there have been avant-garde movements committed to renouncing the efforts of forebears in a resolute and even vitriolic way. This artistic trend provides the initial foundations for acts of iconoclasm undertaken in the name of art.

David’s pupils were among the first to talk about rejecting the art of the past through destruction. Maurice Quay allegedly called for the Louvre to be burned down on the grounds that museums corrupt artistic taste.¹⁶⁴ His rebellious sentiments were reinvigorated by the Italian Futurists. “Turn aside the canals to flood the museums!”, urged Filippo Marinetti in 1909, “Oh, the joy of seeing the glorious old canvases bobbing adrift on those waters, discoloured and shredded! ... Take up your pickaxes, your axes and hammers and wreck, wreck the venerable cities, pitilessly!”.¹⁶⁵ The Futurists believed that a prerequisite to artistic progression was the destruction of the past and its attributes: libraries, opera houses, theatres and museums. In their bid to revolutionise the cultural landscape, they did not wish to be influenced or

compromised by the achievements of their predecessors, and they advocated that superseding artists should likewise cast Futurism aside. The Suprematist Kazimir Malevich responded in his 1915 manifesto, proclaiming: “We have abandoned futurism, and we, bravest of the brave, *have spat on the altar of its art*”.¹⁶⁶ In subsequent years, proponents of other avant-garde movements also embraced hostile rhetoric, although the destruction of which they spoke remained metaphorical.¹⁶⁷

In 1919 Marcel Duchamp took this oedipal conflict one step further when he produced *L.H.O.O.Q* (Plate 42). The work consists of an image of Leonardo’s *Mona Lisa*, to which Duchamp applied a moustache and beard. It does not just symbolise Duchamp’s irreverent rejection of his forebears. Although *L.H.O.O.Q* was made by defacing a mass-produced reproduction of the *Mona Lisa* and not the real painting, the suggestion is implicit that mutilating an actual artwork could be a valid form of artistic expression.

Robert Rauschenberg finally broke the taboo of literally desecrating an original artwork for his own creative purposes in 1953. To produce *Erased de Kooning Drawing, 1953*, Rauschenberg spent four weeks methodically erasing an image by Willem de Kooning, which he then framed and exhibited in New York (Plate 43). In an interview in May 1976, Rauschenberg explained that, despite his admiration for de Kooning, *Erased de Kooning Drawing* had been an attempt to “purge” himself of his artistic teaching.¹⁶⁸ His subversion sparked controversy. As with modern episodes of ‘artistic’ iconoclasm, Rauschenberg perceived that he was working collaboratively with the original artist. Crucially, though, Rauschenberg had acted with de Kooning’s permission; he had been gifted a drawing for this function. Rauschenberg’s experiment encouraged other artists to explore the creative potential of destruction, either disfiguring artworks that they owned or mutilating their own efforts.¹⁶⁹

Neither the metaphorical iconoclasm of early 20th century art movements, nor the radical but legally sanctioned activities of Duchamp and Rauschenberg provide direct precursors to modern incidents of ‘artistically’ motivated damage. However, these developments established the origins of the problem. They opened the door to the possibility of harming the work of great artists and creating new art from the experience.

The other main contextual root of this motive is the avant-garde trend away from conventional modes of artistic expression. *Vis-à-vis* the use of *objet trouvés* and

conceptual installations, this has already been alluded to. But it was the birth of performance art that ultimately enabled artists to escape the fixed traditions of painting and sculpture. Performance was not recognised as an art form until the 1970s, but aspects of theatricality featured in avant-garde circles throughout the 20th century.¹⁷⁰ In the words of RosaLee Goldberg, performance art is “a permissive, open-ended medium with endless variables, executed by artists impatient with the limitations of more established art forms, and determined to take their art directly to the public”.¹⁷¹ With such a “boundless manifesto”, the growth of performance challenged the formal frontiers of art, so that the physical realisation of an idea or human bodily gestures could be considered as artistry. The freedom of the medium also encouraged anarchy in its execution. Early performances of the Italian Futurists often resulted in violence and arrests.¹⁷² Moreover, in February 1960 Jim Dine performed *The Smiling Workman*, in which he drank from paint jars while working on a large canvas, which he finally destroyed by leaping through.¹⁷³ Once performance was established as a genuine artistic vehicle, the progression from this type of art to the unauthorised destruction of works in galleries was, perhaps, inevitable.

The evolution of these contextual threads places cultural institutions in a serious quandary. It seems hypocritical for institutions to reject the legitimacy of iconoclastic gestures which are the progeny of theories and formal experiments that are celebrated as milestones in the history of modern art. But if they recognise such assaults as innovative art they undermine their custodial responsibilities and risk the safety of collections. This dilemma has grave consequences. Indeed, it is worth noting the outcome of the attack on *Guernica*. Despite having apprehended Tony Shafrazi, who confessed willingly to the crime, the Museum of Modern Art did not prosecute him. Museum officials presumably wished to avoid creating more negative publicity. Yet it is equally conceivable that this non-committal stance derived from a sense of paralysis brought on by the ambiguity of the situation.

Following Shafrazi's attack there was a lull in high profile incidents of iconoclasm undertaken as conceptual or performance art. The problem re-emerged in 1993. On 24th August Pierre Pinoncelli disrupted an exhibition at the Carre d'Art in Nîmes by sprinkling liquid on a version of Marcel Duchamp's *Fountain* and hitting it with a hammer (Plate 44). Pinoncelli proclaimed his act a “urinal-happening”.¹⁷⁴

In some respects, this assault could have been anticipated. Pinoncelli was well-known for his outrageous brand of performance art. In 1969 he had attacked

André Malraux, the French Culture Minister, with a paint-filled water-pistol at an exhibition opening in Nice.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, *Fountain* was a particularly apt focus for an ‘artistic’ attack. Duchamp advocated that any object could be a work of art, subject to the choice of the artist; he took ordinary mass-produced items and de-contextualised them to create ‘readymades’. Conceived for exhibition in 1917, *Fountain* was the most infamous illustration of this theory.¹⁷⁶ Pinoncelli felt that *Fountain* had since become an enshrined icon of art history, and so sought to liberate and reinvigorate it with a gesture emphasising its original function and physicality. Splashing the porcelain urinal with liquid and striking it with a hammer served this purpose. It could even be argued that Pinoncelli’s action related to Duchamp’s concept of the ‘reciprocal readymade’, where a commodity elevated to the status of art at the artist’s discretion may be demoted to its original function.¹⁷⁷ Not only was *Fountain* historically significant, it appeared to invite artistic interventions.

Claiming that Duchamp would have appreciated it, Pinoncelli faxed news of his ‘happening’ to various art world personalities on 30th August 1993. His argument won some support. The artist Benjamin Vautier wrote to *Art Press* insisting that the magazine acknowledge the performance as a genuine work of art.¹⁷⁸ Pinoncelli felt sufficiently justified that he repeated his action on 4th January 2006, striking the same version of *Fountain* with a hammer at the Centre Georges Pompidou.¹⁷⁹

This motive divided the art world further in 1997, when the Russian performance artist Alexander Brener damaged Malevich’s *Suprematism 1920-1927 (White Cross on Grey)* in Amsterdam (Plate 45).¹⁸⁰ Brener spray-painted the canvas with a green dollar symbol before surrendering to security guards. The action, he explained, was a performance protesting against “corruption and commercialism in the art world”.¹⁸¹ He had intended his dollar symbol to appear as if nailed to Malevich’s cross, drawing attention to the disproportionate emphasis on money in the art establishment. Although Brener was jailed for the offence, some believed his claims that he had been engaging in a creative dialogue with Malevich. Giancarlo Politi, the editor of *Flash Art*, asserted that Brener’s metaphorical “mouth to mouth resuscitation” had enhanced *Suprematism 1920-1927*, endowing it with another layer of meaning.¹⁸² During the subsequent trial, even a Stedelijk curator was forced to acknowledge that the attack could be seen as artistic, though he added that art should not transgress certain limits.¹⁸³

Others questioned the extent of Brener's expressive originality. The director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York repudiated his 'artistic' motivations because his 'art' was entirely reliant on Malevich's accomplishments.¹⁸⁴ Without *Suprematism 1920-1927* acting as a foil, Brener's efforts were meaningless; he was more a parasite than an artist.

Gamboni also highlights the inherent contradictions of this motive. Performance artists may declare that their interventions liberate masterpieces, but attempting to forge a creative dialogue with a deceased artist necessarily imposes the performer's interpretation upon the original artwork, which is hardly a promotion of freedom.¹⁸⁵ As a group of artists and art workers pointed out in 1974, after the disfigurement of *Guernica*, "No one has the right to unilaterally and arrogantly "join" another artist's work".¹⁸⁶

Iconoclasts who justify their conduct as artistic are not always motivated by purely aesthetic concerns; they may be guided by the allure of public attention. One case study which called this motive into doubt occurred in 1994. On 9th May Damien Hirst's *Away From the Flock*, a lamb suspended in formaldehyde on display at the Serpentine Gallery, was damaged by a man who poured black ink into the tank (Plate 46).¹⁸⁷ Mark Bridger claimed to be on the same creative wavelength as Hirst, and said that he had intervened in order to augment the work. "I was providing an interesting addendum", Bridger explained in court, "In terms of conceptual art, the sheep had already made its statement. Art is there for creation of awareness and I added to whatever it was meant to say".¹⁸⁸

While in the gallery, Bridger had replaced the exhibit's label with one reading: "Mark Bridger, *Black Sheep*, May 1, 1994".¹⁸⁹ This final flourish reinforced the idea that he had devised a new piece of conceptual art. But it also introduced a tongue-in-cheek aspect to the affair. In parodying this gallery convention, Bridger may have been alluding to the perceived ridiculousness of contemporary art. His act may have been a publicity stunt, assured an audience by the interest already generated by *Away From the Flock*.¹⁹⁰ Since Bridger was not a well-established artist, unlike Pinoncelli or Brener, the artistic integrity of his act is difficult to gauge. However, it is interesting to note that Hirst later went some way towards validating it. A book that Hirst produced in 1997 features an image of *Away From the Flock* with a moveable tab that causes the picture to become obscured, as if ink has been poured into the

tank.¹⁹¹ While Bridger acted without the artist's permission, it appears that Hirst was not completely dismissive of *Black Sheep*.

Tracey Emin felt no such ambivalence towards the duo of performance artists who wrecked her installation *My Bed* in October 1999 (Plate 47). In a piece entitled *Two Naked Men Jump Into Tracey's Bed*, Yuan Cai and Jian Jun Xi Ianjun leaped onto Emin's Turner Prize nominated installation and staged a pillow fight.¹⁹² They insisted that, while Emin's work had been "strong", they had "wanted to push the idea further".¹⁹³ Emin denied resolutely that this was art, accusing the assailants of "gimmicky" publicity seeking. She chastised the Tate for not pressing charges and commented: "It was upsetting and disturbing – a criminal offence [...] I wouldn't go round to someone's house, smash up a coffee table and call that art".¹⁹⁴ Nevertheless, some oblivious bystanders met the unauthorised performance with polite applause, which shows how subjective the distinction between creation and destruction can be.

In 2002 Latour coined the term 'iconoclasm', meaning a scenario where "one does not know, one hesitates, one is troubled by an action for which there is no way to know, without further inquiry, whether it is destructive or constructive".¹⁹⁵ The phrase suitably encapsulates the events surrounding the display of *Insult to Injury* by the Chapman Brothers, the most absurd demonstration to date of the ambiguity of 'artistic' iconoclasm.

Jake and Dinos Chapman provoked outrage in 2003 when they doctored a set of Francisco Goya's etchings *The Disasters of War*.¹⁹⁶ The result, *Insult to Injury*, revealed eighty etchings of the Napoleonic invasion of Spain overlaid with watercolour and gouache additions: clown faces, puppy heads and other grotesques (Plate 48). Although the Chapmans saw the work as a tribute to Goya, it prompted accusations of cultural destruction. In legal terms the artists were guiltless because the etchings belonged to them. Altering the series may have been ethically dubious, but defacing their own property was within their rights. When the work fell victim to an iconoclastic attack executed as performance art, the irony was lost on very few.

While giving a talk at Modern Art Oxford on 30th May 2003, Jake Chapman was ambushed by an audience member who threw red paint at him and the etchings.¹⁹⁷ The assailant, Aaron Barschak, maintained the artistic merit of his effort. Barschak told police that he had been "collaborating" with the Chapmans, and intended to submit photographs of the incident to the Turner Prize competition. Presumably due to his reputation for instigating other publicity stunts, this explanation

was dismissed in court and he was sentenced to a jail term. “This was not the creation of a work of art but the creation of a complete mess”, the judge concluded.¹⁹⁸

Whether or not Barschak’s gesture constituted art is irresolvable. The important factor in any of these cases is that the perpetrators, even if they were acting with a sense of irony, felt justified in claiming their intentions to be artistic. The confidence of these assailants suggests that they were aware of the ambiguity of their actions and the paralysing dilemma that they would impose on targeted galleries. Cultural institutions must confront this issue on a practical level. And the increasing occurrence of cases indicates that they should do so with haste.

The final motive to be discussed here is one of the most elusive to predict, though attacks may be influenced by any of the rationales already mentioned. Imitative ‘copycat’ behaviour is a phenomenon recognised across the criminal spectrum, from murder to property destruction.¹⁹⁹ The execution of one bold, unusual or highly publicised offence can provide the inspiration for another person to carry out a similar act, occasionally giving rise to a spate of incidents at the hands of different individuals. Some people emulate criminal episodes to experience the sensation that they elicit first-hand. Others imitate incidents to recreate their consequences, often focusing on publicity generation. Either way, the destruction of art frequently stimulates ‘copycat’ behaviour.²⁰⁰

One explanation for this is provided by Freedberg’s proposal that all people have the capacity to succumb to iconoclastic compulsions. His assertion that it is “wholly understandable” that museum officials are apprehensive about discussing damage in the public domain, for fear that “one might somehow put ideas into people’s heads”, suggests that the triggering of a ‘copycat’ assault is a prominent and volatile risk.²⁰¹ According to this theory, people are essentially time-bombs whose potential to react violently to art may be ignited by knowledge of others doing so.

Freedberg’s emphasis on the universal latency of iconoclastic urges makes his analysis seem unbalanced. An act of imitative art mutilation is not reliant solely upon the perpetrator’s capacity for a lapse in self-control. The extent and manner of information dissemination is critical too. As Freedberg says himself, museums tend to enforce embargos upon discussing iconoclasm beyond institutional confines.²⁰² It is media broadcasting which poses a greater threat of stimulating ‘copycat’ assaults. Not only is national and global news coverage readily available throughout Western society, but the press harbours a particular fascination for the minutest facts on

incidents of deliberate harm. Given these factors, the media plays a significant role in directing potential ‘copycats’ inadvertently.

This may partially account for the proliferation of ‘artistic’ attacks in recent years. When Yuan Cai and Jian Jun Xi Ianjun targeted another version of Duchamp’s *Fountain* at Tate Modern in May 2000, they could have been inspired by press coverage of Pinoncelli’s 1993 act.²⁰³ It seems more than coincidental that the Chinese artists’ justification mimicked Pinoncelli’s almost exactly, referring to Duchamp’s theory of the ‘readymade’ and the dual identity of *Fountain*. In turn, their widely-publicised assaults on *Fountain* and *My Bed* may have encouraged Aaron Barschak to throw paint at *Insult to Injury* a few years later and define his act as performance art.

Cases of emulative iconoclasm are not restricted to copying motives. The method of an attack can also be imitated. On 6th April 1978 a *Times* article on the slashing of *La Berçeuse* noted that only days beforehand Poussin’s *Adoration of the Golden Calf* had been disfigured with a knife as well.²⁰⁴ A few weeks later Van Gogh’s *Self Portrait with Felt Hat* was also seriously slashed.²⁰⁵ Each of these assaults was undertaken in a different institution by separate iconoclasts with their own personal agendas. However, it is hard to ignore the fact that all three attacks, executed within the space of a month, took the same destructive form. It is very likely that at least the third incident was a ‘copycat’ crime. Prior to the defacement of *Self Portrait with Felt Hat*, the man responsible had been repeatedly denied re-admittance to a psychiatric ward, causing him to become increasingly desperate.²⁰⁶ Having witnessed the furore provoked by the slashing of the first two paintings, he could have reasoned that another comparable act would again stoke media interest and direct attention towards his plight.

Regrettably, none of the above cases demonstrating elements of ‘copycat’ behaviour were professed to be imitative gestures. This is the crux of the problem in determining such episodes. Valentine Contrel, who assaulted Ingres’s *Sistine Chapel* in 1907, reportedly confessed that she had been motivated by reading about a man who had harmed a picture in the Louvre.²⁰⁷ Contrel’s candidness is a rare exception. Most iconoclasts would not compromise their apparent originality and audacity by admitting that they were influenced by the behaviour of others. Like envy, the desire to imitate is an internalised motive.

Since it is nearly impossible to tell when an attack has been carried out for emulative reasons, it is extremely difficult to analyse and predict this threat.

Artworks which have been damaged previously are likely targets of ‘copycats’. Galleries normally enhance the security provisions around these works when they return to display.²⁰⁸ But attempts to identify potential victims any more thoroughly are always speculative. It is not even safe to assume that high profile art faces a heightened risk. If someone disfigures an artwork covertly and the result is not noticed immediately by staff, the injury itself may be an impetus for imitators. Like graffiti on public buildings, damage will function as an invitation for further assaults until it is repaired.²⁰⁹ This kind of ‘copycat’ scenario could involve any artwork in any cultural institution. As with many other issues explored in this chapter, anticipating emulative offences is fraught with uncertainty.

An incident of iconoclasm, executed suddenly by a hitherto innocuous member of the public, can be upsetting and unfathomable for museum staff. Few events expose the day-to-day vulnerability of collections more acutely. Few provoke so many questions. What is the scale of the damage? How did the perpetrator elude security? What can be done to prevent repetition of this episode? The gallery representatives who spoke to the press after the attacks on Rembrandt’s *Nightwatch* and Martin Creed’s *The Lights Going On and Off*, as described at the start of this chapter, were presumably preoccupied by such concerns. And yet they did not address the single most fundamental question: why did the perpetrator do this? Eager to put the destruction behind them, both the Rijksmuseum and Tate Britain shied away from examining the motives of their assailants in any depth.

The uncertainties that pervade iconoclastic phenomena are crucial to understanding this reaction. Pursuing the issue of motive is not straightforward. It can be difficult to glean any rationale from an attack, let alone the correct one. Even when perpetrators voice their motives, they can be multi-faceted, contradictory or seemingly incomprehensible. Moreover, no matter how much analysis institutions conduct on past case studies and the intentions of assailants, it cannot guarantee that future attacks will be forestalled.

Yet, while addressing motives is not a cure-all in the prevention of iconoclasm, this approach does provide pointers for determining where particular risks lie. Famous paintings or sculptures, or those depicting personalities are frequent targets of assailants aiming to promote a cause. Both religious representations which challenge expectations, and works with subject matter that flouts moral boundaries may fall prey to outraged viewers. Figurative compositions can provoke a conflation

of image and reality in the viewer's mind, stimulating a violent reaction, while avant-garde pieces displayed without adequate interpretation can spark frustration. Art historically significant works may be damaged by artists aspiring to modify them in the name of progressive art. A gallery that ignores motives misses out on such pointers, and consequently leaves its exhibits vulnerable.

Exploring this subject is also illuminating on a wider scale of concerns. Iconoclastic motives indicate how cultural institutions are perceived in society, and reveal the preconceptions of audiences towards collections. They can help elucidate the complex relationships that people have with images, not only within the context of museums, but in politics, religion, economics and popular culture. And they can identify developing trends, such as the influence commanded by religious or political groups: matters which are normally beyond the scope of galleries.

For targeted institutions to discount the issue of motive is irrational and irresponsible. In 1996 Arnold Goldstein defined all property destruction as “motivated behaviour”, but this was hardly a bolt out of the blue.²¹⁰ The reasoning that spurs a member of the public to strike a work of art is obviously intrinsic to the execution of their act; scholars have been promoting this truism for decades. The time when it was deemed appropriate to describe motives as “wholly uninteresting” is now long past, and the lingering endurance of this mentality should be deplored.

Iconoclasm may not be entirely predictable, but neither is it an unknown, impenetrable threat. By affording the question of motive greater consideration, a better understanding of the phenomenon and its context may be achieved, and this will dispel at least some of the uncertainty and confusion that cripples the responses of galleries.

References

- ¹ – For further details of this episode see:
 Fine, Gary Alan and Shatin, Deborah: 'Crimes Against Art: Social Meanings and Symbolic Attacks', *Empirical Studies of the Arts*, Volume 3, 1985, p139 and p143
 Freedberg, David: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, Maarssen, 1985, pp11-13
 Goss, Steven: 'A Partial Guide to the Tools of Art Vandalism', *Cabinet Magazine*, Issue 3, Summer 2001, www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/3/toolsofartvandalism.php, (Consulted 23/09/05)
 Masterman, Sue: 'Rembrandt Disfigured', *The Times*, 15th September 1975, p-
 Nicolson, Benedict: "'The Night Watch' Restored', *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume 118, Number 884, November 1976, p731 and p781
- ² – Freedberg: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, p7
- ³ – Anonymous: 'Tate Egg Protester Faces Life Ban', *BBC News*, 12th December 2001, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/1706637.stm>, (Consulted 28/04/06)
- ⁴ – The unfavourable reaction to *The Lights Going On and Off* is discussed in:
 Gibbons, Fiachra: 'It's On, It's Off, But is it Art?', *The Guardian*, 7th November 2001, p-
 Gibbons, Fiachra: 'Judges Switched on as Turner Prize Goes to the Creed of Nothingness', *The Guardian*, 10th December 2001, p-
 Reynolds, Nigel: 'Turner Prize Won by Man who Turns Lights Off', *The Telegraph*, 10th December 2001, p-
 Anonymous: 'Critics Split over Turner Winner', *BBC News*, 10th December 2001, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/1701400.stm>, (Consulted 18/04/07)
- ⁵ – Freedberg, David: *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, Chicago and London, 1989, p407
- ⁶ – After *The Adoration of the Golden Calf* by Nicholas Poussin was slashed at the National Gallery in 1978, it was reported that gallery officials were "puzzled" over the motive of the attack, since they could find "nothing offensive" about the painting. They overlooked the fact that it depicts the scene of idol worship described in *Exodus 32*, an episode which results in the wrath of God and the destruction of the Golden Calf. For details see:
 Freedberg: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, p20
 Freedberg: *The Power of Images*, pp378-384 and pp421-422
 Anonymous: 'Painting Slashed', *The Times*, 4th April 1978, p-
 Again, in 2006, representatives of the Rijksmuseum professed to have "no idea" why the *Celebration of the Peace of Muenster* by Bartholomeus van der Helst had been attacked, even though the perpetrator was a "known vandal" who had struck on previous occasions.
 For details see:
 Anonymous: 'Amsterdam Museum Re-opens After Attack on Painting', *Yahoo! News*, 26th June 2006, http://news.yahoo.com/s/afp/20060626/ennew_afp/afpentertainmentartnetherlndsmuseum, (Consulted 29/06/06)
 Anonymous: 'Man Confesses to Attack on Masterpiece', *Expatica News*, 26th June 2006, www.expatica.com/actual/article.asp?channel_id=1&story_id=31084, (Consulted 29/06/06)
 Anonymous: 'Man Sprays Chemical on Renowned Painting in Amsterdam's Rijksmuseum', *Hoovers.com News*, 25th June 2006, www.hoovers.com/free/news/detail.xhtml?ArticleID=20060625140.5.3_3dc800, (Consulted 29/06/06)

-
- ⁷ – Latour, Bruno: ‘What is Iconoclasm? Or is there a World Beyond the Image Wars?’, *Iconoclasm: Beyond the Image Wars in Science, Religion and Art*, eds. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel, Exhibition Catalogue: ZKM Center for Art and Media, Karlsruhe, 4th May – 4th August 2002, Karlsruhe, 2002, pp26-32
- ⁸ – Dillon, Brian: ‘Seven Faces of the Art Vandal’, *Tate Etc.*, Issue 2, Autumn 2004, www.tate.org.uk/tateetc/issue2/sevenfacesartvandal.htm, (Consulted 24/06/05)
- ⁹ – See:
 Boggan, Steve: ‘The Invisible Mending’, *The Independent on Sunday*, 17th November 1991, p-
 Anonymous: ‘Da Vinci Shooting was a ‘Political Protest’’, *The Times*, 14th November 1987, p-
- ¹⁰ – Cohen, Stanley: ‘Property Destruction: Motives and Meanings’, *Vandalism*, ed. Colin Ward, London, 1973, p42
- ¹¹ – The following publications pioneered and developed the idea that property destruction is not a meaningless act:
 Allen, Vernon L. and Greenberger, David B.: ‘An Aesthetic Theory of Vandalism’, *Crime and Delinquency*, Volume 24, Number 3, July 1978, pp309-321
 Cohen, Stanley: ‘The Politics of Vandalism, The Nature of Vandalism, Can It Be Controlled?’, *New Society*, Number 324, 12th December 1968, pp872-878
 Cohen: ‘Property Destruction’, pp 23-53
 Griffiths, Robin and Shapland, J.M.: ‘The Vandal’s Perspective: Meanings and Motives’, *Designing Against Vandalism*, ed. Jane Sykes, London, 1979, pp11-18
 Lévy-Leboyer, Claude (ed.): *Vandalism: Behaviour and Motivations*, Amsterdam, New York and Oxford, 1984
 Martin, John M.: *Juvenile Vandalism: A Study of Its Nature and Prevention*, Springfield, 1961, pp73-106
- ¹² – See:
 Freedberg: *The Power of Images*, pp421-423
 Gamboni, Dario: *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution*, London, 1997, p336
- ¹³ – For further details see:
 Cordess, Christopher and Turcan, Maja: ‘Art Vandalism’, *British Journal of Criminology*, Volume 33, Winter 1993, p96
 Dornberg, John: ‘Deliberate Malice’, *Art News*, Volume 87, Number 8, October 1988, p63
 Freedberg: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, p21 and p48
 Gorvy, Brett: ‘Massacre of the Innocents’, *The Antique Collector*, Volume 64, Number 4, April 1993, p60
 Goss: ‘A Partial Guide to the Tools of Art Vandalism’, www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/3/toolsofartvandalism.php
 Anonymous: ‘German Art Vandal Back in Custody’, *Artnet News*, 2nd August 2001, www.artnet.com/Magazine/news/artnetnews/artnetnews8-2-01.asp, (Consulted 11/06/07)
- ¹⁴ – Freedberg: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, pp35-36
- ¹⁵ – This case is described as a “rampage” in:
 Goss: ‘A Partial Guide to the Tools of Art Vandalism’, www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/3/toolsofartvandalism.php
 Böhlmann’s justification is defined as “crude” in:
 Cordess and Turcan: ‘Art Vandalism’, p96
- ¹⁶ – Gorvy: ‘Massacre of the Innocents’, p60
- ¹⁷ – Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p198
- ¹⁸ – Conklin, John E.: *Art Crime*, Westport, Connecticut and London, 1994, p249
- ¹⁹ – Allen and Greenberger: ‘An Aesthetic Theory of Vandalism’, pp309-321
 See also:

-
- Goldstein, Arnold P.: *The Psychology of Vandalism*, New York and London, 1996, pp41-43
- ²⁰ – Allen and Greenberger: ‘An Aesthetic Theory of Vandalism’, p313
- ²¹ – This was brought to the author’s attention by:
Correspondence with Nicola Christie, Head of Paintings Conservation at National Museums Liverpool, Liverpool, UK (Sent 16/11/05)
- ²² – Csikszentmihalyi, Mihaly and Larson, Reed: ‘Intrinsic Rewards in School Crime’, *Crime and Delinquency*, Volume 24, Number 3, July 1978, pp322-335
See also:
Goldstein: *The Psychology of Vandalism*, pp39-41
- ²³ – Csikszentmihalyi and Larson: ‘Intrinsic Rewards in School Crime’, pp326-327
- ²⁴ – *Ibid.*, p329
- ²⁵ – Schumacher, Mary Louise: ‘On Public View, Art can be Vulnerable’, *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, 5th April 2007, p-
These comments followed damage sustained by two sculptures in February 2006 during a promotional event held in the museum, and an attack by a visitor on *The Triumph of David* by Ottavio Vannini in April 2007.
- ²⁶ – For details of this incident see:
Anonymous: ‘Boy, 12, Gums up Pricey DIA Artwork’, *Detroit Free Press*, 28th February 2006, p-
Anonymous: ‘12-year-old Sticks Gum onto \$1.5m Painting’, *USAToday.com*, 1st March 2006, www.usatoday.com/news/offbeat/2006-03-01-painting_x.htm,
(Consulted 23/03/06)
- ²⁷ – For discussion of these motives in the context of general property destruction see:
Cohen: ‘The Politics of Vandalism’, pp875-876
Cohen: ‘Property Destruction’, pp42-50
Griffiths and Shapland: ‘The Vandal’s Perspective’, pp12-17
Madison, Arnold: *Vandalism: The Not-So-Senseless Crime*, New York, 1970, pp38-47
- ²⁸ – Reference to the destruction of art by “insane” people is made in:
Berman, Avis: ‘Art Destroyed: Sixteen Shocking Case Histories’, *Connoisseur*, July 1989, p74
The man who attacked Rembrandt’s *Danaë* in 1985 is given the epithet “unhinged” in:
Schama, Simon: ‘The Naked Rembrandt’, *The New Yorker*, Volume 75, Number 30, 11th October 1999, p60
The threat posed to museums by “maniac” iconoclasts is mentioned in:
Elam, Caroline: ‘The Leonardo Cartoon’, *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume 129, Number 1014, September 1987, p571
- ²⁹ – A similar argument is put forward querying the public perception that mentally ill individuals are more likely to be violent than other people in:
Howells, Kevin: ‘Mental Disorder and Violent Behaviour’, *Developments in the Study of Criminal Behaviour: Volume 2: Violence*, ed. Philip Feldman, Chichester, New York, Brisbane, Toronto, Singapore, 1982, p169
- ³⁰ – Gamboni’s views on this matter were recorded in an interview with John Dornberg. See:
Dornberg, John: ‘Art Vandals: Why Do They Do It?’, *Art News*, Volume 86, Number 3, March 1987, p105
- ³¹ – See Chapter Two.
- ³² – This incident and its repercussions are discussed further in:
Braham, Allan: ‘The Restoration of the Leonardo Cartoon: Introduction’, *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, Volume 13, 1989, pp4-10
Fuller, Peter: ‘The Psychology of the Ripper’, *New Society*, 31st July 1987, pp14-15

-
- Harding, Eric and Oddy, Andrew: 'Leonardo da Vinci's Cartoon *The Virgin and Child with St Anne and St John the Baptist*', *The Art of the Conservator*, ed. Andrew Oddy, London, 1992, pp28-41
- Murdin, Lynda: 'Cartoon Attacker Sent to Hospital', *The Times*, 19th December 1987, p-
- Anonymous: 'Ex-soldier Sent to Broadmoor', *The Guardian*, 19th December 1987, p-
- Anonymous: 'Shotgun Attack on Leonardo Drawing', *The Times*, 18th July 1987, p-
- ³³ – Boggan: 'The Invisible Mending', p-
- ³⁴ – *Ibid.*, p-
- ³⁵ – The first statement features in:
 Masterman: 'Rembrandt Disfigured', p-
 The second statement was reported in *De Telegraaf* on 16th September 1975, and is reproduced in:
 Freedberg: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, p11
- ³⁶ – While bludgeoning the *Pietà* with a hammer, László Toth cried: "I am Christ". For further details see:
 Clough, Patricia: 'Pieta is Smashed in St Peter's', *The Times*, 22nd May 1972, p-
 Fine and Shatin: 'Crimes Against Art', p139 and p143-144
 Anonymous: 'Can Italy be Saved from Itself?', *Time.Com*, 5th June 1972,
www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,905967,00.html, (Consulted 22/08/07)
- ³⁷ – Freedberg: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, p13
- ³⁸ – Masterman: 'Rembrandt Disfigured', p-
- ³⁹ – For details of this case see:
 Anderson-Reece, Erik: 'Who's Afraid of Corporate Culture: The Barnett Newman Controversy', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Volume 51, Number 1, Winter 1993, p49
 Bois, Yve-Alain: 'Here to There and Back – Barnett Newman Retrospective' (Exhibition Review), *Art Forum*, Volume 40, Number 7, March 2002, p108
 McKim-Smith, Gridley: 'The Rhetoric of Rape, the Language of Vandalism', *Woman's Art Journal*, Volume 23, Number 1, Spring-Summer 2002, p29 and pp32-33
 Anonymous: 'Who's Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue III', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, www.renewal.org.au/artcrime/pages/newman2.html, (Consulted 24/06/05)
- ⁴⁰ – Anonymous: 'Cathedra', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*,
<http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/newman.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)
 The problematic restoration of *Who's Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue III* is discussed further in:
 Esman, Abigail: 'Letter from the Lowlands', *Artnet News*, 10th April 1997,
www.artnet.com/Magazine/reviews/esman/esman4-10-97.asp, (Consulted 11/06/07)
 Tallman, Susan: 'Tempest over Slashed Newman', *Art in America*, Volume 80, Number 2, February 1992, p27
 Vogel, Carol: 'Restored, but Still Blue', *The New York Times*, 4th January 2002, p-
 Anonymous: 'Murder of a Masterpiece?', *Time.Com*, 6th January 1992,
www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,974608,00.html, (Consulted 11/06/07)
- ⁴¹ – For details of this attack see:
 McKim-Smith: 'The Rhetoric of Rape', p30
 Schwartz, Gary: 'Attacking Art' (Book Review), *Art in America*, Volume 86, Number 7, July 1998, pp29-31
 Vogel, Carol: 'Dutch Vandal Slashes Museums' Confidence', *The New York Times*, 27th November 1997, p-
 Vogel: 'Restored, but Still Blue', p-

-
- ⁴² – Foster, Hal, Krauss, Rosalind, Bois, Yve-Alain and Buchloh, Benjamin H.D.: *Art Since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism*, London, 2004, p366
- ⁴³ – For details see:
 Antlfinger, Carrie: ‘17th Century Oil Painting Attacked by Milwaukee Museum Visitor’, *FindLaw*, 5th April 2007,
<http://news.findlaw.com/ap/o/51/04-05-2007/0fee000c86713ea2.html>, (Consulted 09/04/07)
 Purvis, Bob: ‘Man Damages Old Master Painting at Milwaukee Art Museum’, *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, 4th April 2007, p-
 Schumacher: ‘On Public View, Art can be Vulnerable’, p-
- ⁴⁴ – Antlfinger: ‘17th Century Oil Painting Attacked’,
<http://news.findlaw.com/ap/o/51/04-05-2007/0fee000c86713ea2.html>
- ⁴⁵ – Held, Julius S.: ‘Alteration and Mutilation of Works of Art’, *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Volume 62, Number 1, Winter 1963, p7
- ⁴⁶ – Freedberg: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, pp27-33
- ⁴⁷ – Dornberg: ‘Art Vandals’, p103
- ⁴⁸ – For reading on this essentially theological concept see:
 Freedberg: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, pp17-20 and pp33-35
 James, Liz: ‘Seeing is Believing but Words Tell No Lies: Captions versus Images in the Libri Carolini and Byzantine Iconoclasm’, *Negating the Image: Case Studies in Iconoclasm*, eds. Anne McClanan and Jeffrey Johnson, Aldershot and Burlington, 2005, pp97-112
 Kitzinger, Ernst: ‘The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Number 8, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1954, pp83-150
- ⁴⁹ – See:
 Christensen, Carl C.: *Art and the Reformation in Germany*, Athens, Ohio and Detroit, Michigan, 1979
 Scribner, Robert W.: ‘Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside-Down’, *Städtische Gesellschaft und Reformation*, ed. Ingrid Batori, Stuttgart, 1980, pp234-264
- ⁵⁰ – Scribner: ‘Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside-Down’, p235
- ⁵¹ – Cordess and Turcan: ‘Art Vandalism’, p95
- ⁵² – Freedberg: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, p20
- ⁵³ – This damage is highlighted in:
 Held: ‘Alteration and Mutilation of Works of Art’, p7
Saint Reparata before the Emperor Decius is described further in:
The Metropolitan Museum of Art Website, www.metmuseum.org, (Consulted 02/05/07)
- ⁵⁴ – *Gone with the Wind*, (Feature Film), directed by Victor Fleming, 1939, Colour, 224 minutes
- ⁵⁵ – See:
 Anonymous: ‘Bush Defies Critics on UK Visit’, *BBC News*, 19th November 2003,
http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/uk_politics/3285357.stm, (Consulted 03/05/07)
 Anonymous: ‘Dozens at Anti-War Demonstration’, *BBC News*, 24th April 2005,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/england/oxfordshire/4475039.stm>, (Consulted 02/05/07)
 Anonymous: ‘Thousands Protest Against Bush’, *BBC News*, 21st November 2003,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/england/london/3223780.stm>, (Consulted 02/05/07)
 Anonymous: ‘Worldwide Protests Mark Iraq War’, *BBC News*, 21st March 2004,
http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/middle_east/3552147.stm, (Consulted 03/05/07)
 For further discussion on the practice of image punishment in political protest see:
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, pp111-113

-
- ⁵⁶ – For more information see:
 Millard, Rosie: ‘Vandalised Art: The Price of Graffiti’, *New Statesman*, 12th July 2004, p-
 Anonymous: ‘Beckham Exhibition Photo Defaced’, *BBC News*, 30th June 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/entertainment/3850981.stm>, (Consulted 23/03/06)
 Anonymous: ‘Beckham Portrait is Defaced’, *CNN.com*, 30th June 2004, <http://edition.cnn.com/2004/WORLD/europe/06/30/uk.beckham>, (Consulted 23/03/06)
- ⁵⁷ – It has been suggested that the misspelling of “Loosers” was in reference to Beckham’s mistress Rebecca Loos. See:
 Anonymous: ‘Beckham Exhibition Photo Defaced’, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/entertainment/3850981.stm>
- ⁵⁸ – This case study is fully explained and analysed in Chapter Two.
- ⁵⁹ – The background to the acquisition of the *Rokeby Venus* is described in:
 Holroyd, Charles: ‘Report of the Trustees of the National Gallery for the Year 1906’, 6th March 1907, *National Gallery Archive* NG17/6, p-
 Saumarez Smith, Charles: ‘The Battle for Venus’, *New Statesman*, 10th November 2003, p-
 Speyer, Edward and Hichens, Andrew K.: ‘Letters to the Editor: The Rokeby Velasquez’, *The Times*, 14th December 1905, p-
 Anonymous: ‘Messrs. Agnew’s Exhibition’, *The Times*, 7th November 1905, p-
 ‘Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board’, 19th December 1905, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/7, pp255-260
 ‘Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board’, 3rd April 1906, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/7, pp273-275
- ⁶⁰ – Richardson, Mary: *Laugh a Defiance*, London, 1953, p165
- ⁶¹ – Anonymous: ‘National Gallery Outrage’, *The Times*, 11th March 1914, p-
- ⁶² – For details of this incident see:
 Freedberg: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, pp17-20
 Gibb, Frances: ‘Royal Portraits Taken Off Display after Attack’, *The Times*, 31st August 1981, p-
- ⁶³ – Gibb: ‘Royal Portraits Taken Off Display’, p-
- ⁶⁴ – Upon apprehension, Salmon claimed that he was “in sympathy with Northern Ireland”, and that he had “done it for Ireland”. These statements were reported in:
 Anonymous: ‘Prison for Attack on Royal Picture’, *The Times*, 17th September 1981, p-
 An iconoclastic attack by an IRA activist would not have been unprecedented. In 1974 the *Adoration of the Magi* by Rubens was scored with the initials ‘IRA’ while it hung in King’s College Chapel in Cambridge. See:
 Freedberg: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, p21
- ⁶⁵ – Anonymous: ‘Prison for Attack on Royal Picture’, p-
- ⁶⁶ – For details of this attack see:
 Boldrick, Stacy and Clay, Richard: ‘Introduction’, *Iconoclasm: Contested Objects, Contested Terms*, eds. Stacy Boldrick and Richard Clay, Aldershot and Burlington, 2007, p2
 Hall, Sarah: ‘Thatcher Statue Attack ‘A Satirical Gesture’’, *The Guardian*, 17th December 2002, p-
 White, Michael: ‘Thatcher Statue Decapitated’, *The Guardian*, 4th July 2002, p-
 Anonymous: ‘Margaret Thatcher’, *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, www.renewal.org.au/artcrime/pages/simmons.html, (Consulted 23/07/05)
 Anonymous: ‘Thatcher Statue Decapitated’, *BBC News*, 3rd July 2002, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/2091200.stm>, (Consulted 11/06/07)

-
- ⁶⁷ – Kelleher's arrest and trial are described in:
 Hall: 'Thatcher Statue Attack 'A Satirical Gesture'', p-
 Anonymous: 'Man Denies Thatcher Statue Charge', *BBC News*, 4th July 2002,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/2091660.stm>, (Consulted 11/06/07)
 Anonymous: 'Thatcher Statue Attacker Jailed', *BBC News*, 20th February 2003,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/uk/2779597.stm>, (Consulted 11/06/07)
- ⁶⁸ – Morris, Steven: 'Thatcher Accused Says: I'm No Criminal', *The Guardian*, 5th July 2002, p-
- ⁶⁹ – This incident was brought to the author's attention by:
 Gorvy: 'Massacre of the Innocents', p62
 Morgan, Lyndsey: 'Chair', *Material Matters: The Conservation of Modern Sculpture*, ed. Jackie Heuman, London, 1999, pp72-81
 Correspondence with Roy Perry, Former Head of Conservation at Tate, London, UK (Sent 07/11/05)
 Telephone Interview with Derek Pullen, Head of Sculpture Conservation at Tate, London, UK (Conducted 17/11/05)
- ⁷⁰ – The female protester performed a series of handsprings into *Office Baroque* and pushed over *Graffiti Truck*. For details see:
 Hirsch, Faye: 'Flick Show Draws Attacks', *Art in America*, Volume 92, Number 10, November 2004, p43
 Kimmelman, Michael: 'History's Long, Dark Shadow at Berlin Show', *New York Times*, 27th September 2004, www.nytimes.com/2004/09/27/arts/design/27flic.html, (Consulted 27/09/04)
 Paterson, Tony: 'Protester Attacks Berlin Exhibition of Art 'Bought with Nazi Blood Money'', *The Independent*, 24th September 2004, p-
 Anonymous: 'Woman Damages Art Works at Controversial Berlin Exhibition', *Expatica News*, 23rd September 2004,
www.expatica.com/actual/article.asp?subchannel_id=52&story_id=12128, (Consulted 02/05/07)
 Anonymous: 'Woman Doing Handsprings Attacks Art at German Museum', *Chicago Sun-Times*, 24th September 2004,
www.suntimes.com/output/news/cst-nws-art24.html, (Consulted 27/09/04)
- ⁷¹ – See:
 Cox, Roger: 'World Arts Digest: Berlin', *The Scotsman*, 25th September 2004, p-
 Kimmelman, Michael: 'History's Shadow is Cast at Berlin Show', *International Herald Tribune*, 29th September 2004, p-
 Paterson, Tony: 'Berlin Plan to Exhibit Art Collection with Links to Third Reich', *The Independent*, 25th January 2003, p-
- ⁷² – Kimmelman: 'History's Long, Dark Shadow at Berlin Show',
www.nytimes.com/2004/09/27/arts/design/27flic.html
- ⁷³ – See:
 Lapp, Axel: 'The Friedrich Christian Flick Collection' (Exhibition Review), *Art Monthly*, Number 282, December 2004 – January 2005, pp20-21
 Levy, Martin and Flynn, Tom: 'Talkback: Should Christian Flick's Contemporary Art Collection be on Display at the Hamburger Bahnhof, Museum for the Present, in Berlin?', *Museums Journal*, November 2004, p19
- ⁷⁴ – The St Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art, which opened in Glasgow in 1993, was an early proponent of discussion boards. See:
 Sandell, Richard: *Museums, Prejudice and the Reframing of Difference*, London and New York, 2007, p51
 More recently, the Natural History Museum in London created a 'media lab' in its Darwin Centre to host informal debates. See:
 Billings, Scott: 'It's Good to Talk', *Museums Journal*, November 2007, p29
 For further examples of such initiatives see:

-
- Billings: 'It's Good to Talk', pp28-29
- Bruce, Katie: 'Case Study: Gallery of Modern Art', *Museum Practice*, Issue 44, Winter 2008, p52
- Sandell: *Museums, Prejudice and the Reframing of Difference*, pp45-70
- Stephens, Simon: 'Taking Liberties', *Museums Journal*, December 2008, pp48-49
- Westley, Hannah: 'Museums of Belonging', *Museums Journal*, March 2008, p34
- ⁷⁵ – Sandell: *Museums, Prejudice and the Reframing of Difference*, p45
- ⁷⁶ – Habermas, Jürgen: 'Civil Disobedience: Litmus Test for the Democratic Constitutional State', trans. John Torpey, *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, Volume 30, 1985, pp103-110
- William Smith argues that Habermas's account of inadequacies in deliberative democratic procedures lacks substance, and suggests that "inequalities in social power" provide a more satisfactory justification for civil disobedience. See: Smith, William: 'Civil Disobedience and Social Power: Reflections on Habermas', *Contemporary Political Theory*, Volume 7, Number 1, February 2008, pp72-89
- For further discussion see:
- Habermas, Jürgen: *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, trans. William Rehg, Cambridge, 1996, pp382-384
- Thomassen, Lasse: 'Within the Limits of Deliberative Reason Alone: Habermas, Civil Disobedience and Constitutional Democracy', *European Journal of Political Theory*, Volume 6, Number 2, April 2007, pp200-218
- Young, Iris M.: 'Activist Challenges to Deliberative Democracy', *Political Theory*, Volume 29, Number 5, October 2001, pp670-690
- ⁷⁷ – Habermas: 'Civil Disobedience', p105
- ⁷⁸ – *Ibid.*, pp100-101
- ⁷⁹ – Young: 'Activist Challenges to Deliberative Democracy', pp673-674
- ⁸⁰ – This case is described in:
- Bennetto, Jason: 'Man Squirts Yellow Paint on National Gallery Rembrandt', *The Independent*, 6th August 1998, p-
- Jones, Jonathan: 'Why Would Anyone Want to Deface a Painting?', *The Guardian*, 6th March 1999, p-
- Anonymous: 'Self-Portrait at the Age of 63', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, <http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/rembrandt1.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)
- ⁸¹ – The story of Herostratos (sometimes also called Eratostratos) is mentioned in:
- Cicero: *The Nature of the Gods*, trans. P.G. Walsh, Oxford, 1997, p72
- Plutarch: 'The Life of Alexander', *The Age of Alexander*, trans. Ian Scott-Kilvert, introduction by G.T. Griffith, London, 1973, p254
- Modern reference is made in:
- Gammoni: *The Destruction of Art*, p191
- Gorvy: 'Massacre of the Innocents', p61
- Lowenthal, David: 'Memory and Oblivion', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, Volume 12, Number 2, June 1993, p178
- McClanan, Anne and Johnson, Jeffrey: 'Introduction: 'O for a muse of fire ...'', *Negating the Image: Case Studies in Iconoclasm*, eds. Anne McClanan and Jeffrey Johnson, Aldershot and Burlington, 2005, p5
- ⁸² – In terms of general property destruction, Robin Griffiths and J. M. Shapland assert that the desire to impress peers is a common motivation, particularly among adolescents. See:
- Griffiths and Shapland: 'The Vandal's Perspective', p15
- ⁸³ – For details of the attack see:
- Freedberg: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, p11
- Gammoni: *The Destruction of Art*, pp198-200
- Held: 'Alteration and Mutilation of Works of Art', p4

-
- Anonymous: 'Acid Thrown at a Famous Rubens', *The Times*, 27th February 1959, p-
- Anonymous: 'Hope of Restoring Rubens', *The Times*, 28th February 1959, p-
- ⁸⁴ – Menzl's literary work is mentioned in:
 Freedberg: *The Power of Images*, p409
 Anonymous: 'Hope of Restoring Rubens', p-
 His utopian scheme is referenced in:
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p199
 Held: 'Alteration and Mutilation of Works of Art', p4
- ⁸⁵ – Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p199
- ⁸⁶ – Anonymous: 'Hope of Restoring Rubens', p-
- ⁸⁷ – Held: 'Alteration and Mutilation of Works of Art', p4
- ⁸⁸ – The existence of this series of comparable yet unrelated attacks is noted in:
 Shinn, Matt: 'Blam! Pow! Splat!', *The Guardian*, 6th November 2003, p-
- ⁸⁹ – For details see:
 Goss: 'A Partial Guide to the Tools of Art Vandalism',
www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/3/toolsofartvandalism.php
 Anonymous: "'Mona Lisa" Under Glass', *The New York Times*, 13th October 1907, p-
- ⁹⁰ – Goss: 'A Partial Guide to the Tools of Art Vandalism',
www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/3/toolsofartvandalism.php
- ⁹¹ – For further details see:
 Anonymous: 'Paintings Case', *The Guardian*, 6th April 1982, p-
 Anonymous: 'Turner Painting Damaged', *The Times*, 29th March 1982, p-
 Anonymous: 'Youth who Slashed Paintings Wanted Jail', *The Times*, 18th May 1982, p-
- ⁹² – See:
 'Press Release: Paintings Repaired After Damage', 10th June 1982, *National Gallery Archive* HF1982/24
- ⁹³ – The theological debate concerning the creation of images of the divine, and the historical context of this issue with regard to the emergence of iconoclasm, is a vast subject.
 For further reading see:
 Alexander, Paul J.: 'The Iconoclastic Council of St Sophia (815) and its Definition (*Horos*)', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Number 7, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953, pp37-66
 Anastos, Milton V.: 'The Ethical Theory of Images Formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Number 8, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1954, pp151-160
 Besançon, Alain: *The Forbidden Image: An Intellectual History of Iconoclasm*, trans. Jane Marie Todd, Chicago and London, 2000
 James, Liz: 'Seeing is Believing but Words Tell No Lies', pp97-112
 Kitzinger, Ernst: 'The Cult of Images', pp83-150
 Ladner, Gerhart B.: 'The Concept of the Image in the Greek Fathers and the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Number 7, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953, pp1-34
- ⁹⁴ – Exodus 20:4
- ⁹⁵ – McClanan and Johnson: 'Introduction', p4
- ⁹⁶ – Dubin, Steven C.: 'How 'Sensation' Became a Scandal', *Art in America*, Volume 88, Number 1, January 2000, p53
 The events surrounding the display of 'Sensation' in New York are discussed further in:
 Barrett, Terry: *Interpreting Art: Reflecting, Wondering, and Responding*, New York, 2003, pp57-64
 Barstow, David: "'Sensation' Exhibition Closes as it Opened, to Applause and Condemnation", *The New York Times*, 10th January 2000, p-

-
- Ellison, Michael: 'New York Seeks to Ban Britart Sensation', *The Guardian*, 24th September 1999, p-
- Rapp, Christopher: 'Dung Deal – Brooklyn Museum of Art's "Sensation" Exhibition' (Exhibition Review), *National Review*, 25th October 1999, p-
- Rosenbaum, Lee: 'Brooklyn Hangs Tough', *Art in America*, Volume 88, Number 1, January 2000, pp59-63 and p143
- Rothfield, Lawrence (ed.): *Unsettling "Sensation": Arts-Policy Lessons from the Brooklyn Museum of Art Controversy*, New Brunswick, New Jersey and London, 2001
- ⁹⁷ – Ellison: 'New York Seeks to Ban Britart Sensation', p-
- ⁹⁸ – Rapp: 'Dung Deal', p-
- ⁹⁹ – For details of this incident see:
- Becker, Carol: 'The Brooklyn Controversy: A View from the Bridge', *Unsettling "Sensation": Arts-Policy Lessons from the Brooklyn Museum of Art Controversy*, ed. Lawrence Rothfield, New Brunswick, New Jersey and London, 2001, p15
- Bone, James: 'Brooklyn Protest at Virgin Painting', *The Times*, 18th December 1999, p-
- McFadden, Robert: 'Painting in Disputed Exhibit Attacked by Man at Museum', *The New York Times*, 17th December 1999, p-
- Mitchell, W.J.T.: 'Offending Images', *Unsettling "Sensation": Arts-Policy Lessons from the Brooklyn Museum of Art Controversy*, ed. Lawrence Rothfield, New Brunswick, New Jersey and London, 2001, pp123-133
- Witheridge, Annette: 'US Protester Pours Paint on Ofili's Virgin Mary', *The Scotsman*, 18th December 1999, p-
- Anonymous: 'Vandal Attacks Ofili Madonna', *Art in America*, Volume 88, Number 2, February 2000, p31
- ¹⁰⁰ – Witheridge: 'US Protester Pours Paint on Ofili's Virgin Mary', p-
- ¹⁰¹ – The National Gallery of Australia officially cancelled its involvement with 'Sensation' in a written statement on 26th November 1999. Although it announced that this decision was taken because discussion of artistic merit had been obscured by events in New York, the desire to avoid the negative publicity associated with *The Holy Virgin Mary* was implicit. Indeed, in 1997 the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne had provoked similar religious controversy by displaying Andres Serrano's photograph *Piss Christ*, which resulted in two separate attacks on the artwork by visitors. For information on the cancellation of 'Sensation' in Australia see:
- Rosenbaum: 'Brooklyn Hangs Tough', p61
- For details concerning the attacks on *Piss Christ* see:
- Gilchrist, Kate: 'Does Blasphemy Exist? God Does Not Live in Victoria', *Arts Law Centre of Australia Online*, www.artslaw.com.au/publications/Articles/97Blasphemy.asp, (Consulted 05/08/08)
- Hind, John: 'Art Attack', *The Observer*, 27th January 2008, p-
- Anonymous: 'Footlights: Shattered', *The New York Times*, 14th October 1997, p-
- Anonymous: 'Piss Christ', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, <http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/serrano.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)
- ¹⁰² – Gamboni, Dario: 'Image to Destroy, Indestructible Image', *Iconoclasm: Beyond the Image Wars in Science, Religion and Art*, eds. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel, Exhibition Catalogue: ZKM Center for Art and Media, Karlsruhe, 4th May – 4th August 2002, Karlsruhe, 2002, p95
- ¹⁰³ – For details of this case see:
- Akinsha, Konstantin: 'Orthodox Bulldozer', *Art News*, Volume 103, Number 3, March 2004, pp140-143
- Dillon: 'Seven Faces of the Art Vandal', www.tate.org.uk/tateetc/issue2/sevenfacesartvandal.htm

-
- Anonymous: 'Russians Fined in Blasphemy Case', *BBC News*, 28th March 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/4387833stm>, (Consulted 24/05/06)
- ¹⁰⁴ – For details see:
 Akinsha: 'Orthodox Bulldozer', pp140-143
 Dillon: 'Seven Faces of the Art Vandal', www.tate.org.uk/tateetc/issue2/sevenfacesartvandal.htm
- ¹⁰⁵ – Akinsha: 'Orthodox Bulldozer', p140
- ¹⁰⁶ – For details on the judicial aftermath of the attack on 'Caution: Religion!' see:
 Akinsha: 'Orthodox Bulldozer', pp140-143
 Dillon: 'Seven Faces of the Art Vandal', www.tate.org.uk/tateetc/issue2/sevenfacesartvandal.htm
 Schmemmann, Serge: 'Editorial Observer: Balancing Art, the State and Religion without Calling the Police', *The New York Times*, 23rd February 2004, p-
 Anonymous: 'Russians Fined in Blasphemy Case', <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/4387833stm>
- ¹⁰⁷ – Akinsha: 'Orthodox Bulldozer', pp141-142
- ¹⁰⁸ – 'Top Russian Museum Removes Painting after Religious Protest', *Yahoo! News*, 6th October 2005, http://news.yahoo.com/s/afp/20051006/ennew_afp/afplifesterussia_051006172427, (Consulted 13/10/05)
- ¹⁰⁹ – *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁰ – Anonymous: 'Jesus Sculptures Stir Controversy', *ABC News*, 4th April 2007, www.abcnews.go.com/GMA/story?id=3006309, (Consulted 09/04/07)
 For details of this episode see:
 Anonymous: 'Chocolate Jesus Bites the Dust', *CBS News*, 30th March 2007, www.cbsnews.com/stories/2007/03/30/entertainment/printable2629740.shtml, (Consulted 11/06/07)
 Anonymous: 'Chocolate Jesus Exhibit Cancelled', *BBC News*, 31st March 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/americas/6513155.stm>, (Consulted 11/06/07)
 Anonymous: 'Storm in US over Chocolate Jesus', *BBC News*, 30th March 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/americas/6509127.stm>, (Consulted 11/06/07)
- ¹¹¹ – Anonymous: 'Jesus Sculptures Stir Controversy', www.abcnews.go.com/GMA/story?id=3006309
- ¹¹² – The omission of *God is Great* was brought to the author's attention by:
 Alibhai-Brown, Yasmin: 'Unholy Row', *Museums Journal*, January 2006, pp16-17
 Smith, David: 'Artist Hits at Tate 'Cowards' over Ban', *The Observer*, 25th September 2005, p-
 Telephone Interview with Derek Pullen, (Conducted 17/11/05)
- ¹¹³ – Smith: 'Artist Hits at Tate 'Cowards' over Ban', p-
- ¹¹⁴ – See:
 Barker, Emma: 'The Museum in a Postmodern Era: The Musée d'Orsay', *Contemporary Cultures of Display*, ed. Emma Barker, New Haven and London, 1999, pp67-68
 Rowlands, Penelope: 'Origins Bared', *Art News*, Volume 94, Number 8, October 1995, p71
- ¹¹⁵ – For further accounts of this attack see:
 Losch, Susanne: 'Art Which Outraged Omahan 61 Years Ago is Shown Again', *Omaha Evening World-Herald*, 24th April 1951, p-
 Anonymous: 'American Notes', *The Studio*, Volume VI, Number 10, 7th February 1891, p97
 Anonymous: 'Entirely Too Modest', *The Collector*, Volume II, Number 5, 1st January 1891, p66

-
- Anonymous: 'Smashed an Eighteen-Thousand Dollar Picture', *New York Illustrated News*, Volume III, Number 154, 3rd January 1891, p-
- Anonymous: 'With an Assassin's Hand', *Omaha Daily Bee*, Number 181, 16th December 1890, p-
- Anonymous: *William Bouguereau 1825-1905*, Exhibition Catalogue: Musée du Petit-Palais, Paris, 9th Février – 6th Mai 1984; Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal, 22nd Juin – 23rd Septembre 1984; The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, 27th Octobre 1984 – 13th Janvier 1985, pp233-234
- ¹¹⁶ – All quotations by Warbington derive from:
 Anonymous: 'With an Assassin's Hand', p-
- ¹¹⁷ – Werner, Alfred: 'The Great Boug-Bear of Academic Painting', *The Antioch Review*, December 1955, p492
- ¹¹⁸ – Anonymous: 'Entirely Too Modest', p66
- ¹¹⁹ – Landesman, Cosmo: 'The Intrinsic Power of Art', *The Spectator*, 4th October 1997, p-
- ¹²⁰ – For further reading on these events see:
 Landesman: 'The Intrinsic Power of Art', p-
 Nairne, Sandy: 'Exhibitions of Contemporary Art', *Contemporary Cultures of Display*, ed. Emma Barker, New Haven and London, 1999, p111-112
 Owen, Felicity: 'Behind the Scenes at the RA', *The Spectator*, 13th December 1997, p-
 Reynolds, Nigel: 'Hirst Gives Brush-Off to Royal Academy', *The Telegraph*, 10th September 1997, p-
 Thorpe, Vanessa: 'Artist Quits Academy over Refusal to Show Hindley Portrait', *The Independent*, 13th September 1997, p-
 Anonymous: 'Hindley Painting Prompts Outcry', *The Independent*, 26th July 1997, p-
- ¹²¹ – For details of both attacks see:
 Blanchard, Tamsin: 'Sensation as Ink and Eggs are Thrown at Hindley Portrait', *The Independent*, 19th September 1997, p-
 Bowker, Hillary: 'Young Artists Making a 'Sensation' in London', *CNN.com*, 26th October 1997, www.cnn.com/WORLD/9710/26/brit.shock.art/, (Consulted 28/04/06)
 Dubin: 'How 'Sensation' Became a Scandal', p54
 Landesman: 'The Intrinsic Power of Art', p-
 Anonymous: 'Myra', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, <http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/harvey.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)
- ¹²² – Landesman: 'The Intrinsic Power of Art', p-
- ¹²³ – *Ibid.* p-
- ¹²⁴ – Nairne: 'Exhibitions of Contemporary Art', p112
- ¹²⁵ – Suspicions that the Royal Academy's hosting of 'Sensation' was "a stage-managed piece of theatre to gain media attention" are alluded to in:
 Nairne: 'Exhibitions of Contemporary Art', p112
- ¹²⁶ – For details of this case study see:
 Beck, Ernest: 'Rocking the Boat', *Art News*, Volume 103, Number 3, March 2004, p64
 Jones, Jonathan: 'It's Inciting Murder', *The Guardian*, 22nd January 2004, p-
 Kimball, Roger: 'Criticize, Don't Vandalize', *The Wall Street Journal*, 22nd January 2004, p-
 Smith, David: 'Ambassador, you're really spoiling our party', *The Observer*, 18th January 2004, p-
 Anonymous: 'Sharon Praises 'Art Vandal' Envoy', *BBC News*, 18th January 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/3407517.stm>, (Consulted 24/06/05)
 Anonymous: 'Snow White and the Madness of Truth', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, <http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/feiler.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)

-
- ¹²⁷ – Smith: ‘Ambassador, you’re really spoiling our party’, p-
- ¹²⁸ – Anonymous: ‘Sharon Praises ‘Art Vandal’ Envoy’,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/3407517.stm>
- ¹²⁹ – *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁰ – Ariel Sharon’s response is recorded in:
 Anonymous: ‘Sharon Praises ‘Art Vandal’ Envoy’,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/3407517.stm>
 The diplomatic consequences of the attack are described in:
 Beck: ‘Rocking the Boat’, p64
 Smith: ‘Ambassador, you’re really spoiling our party’, p-
 Anonymous: ‘Art Protesters E-mail Swedish PM’, *CNN.com*, 27th January 2004,
<http://edition.cnn.com/2004/WORLD/europe/01/27/sweden.israel.ap/index.html>,
 (Consulted 19/05/06)
- ¹³¹ – Beck: ‘Rocking the Boat’, p64
- ¹³² – Harris, Neil: ‘Exhibiting Controversy’, *Museum News*, Volume 74, Number 5,
 September-October 1995, p37
- ¹³³ – Smith: ‘Ambassador, you’re really spoiling our party’, p-
- ¹³⁴ – Merrill, Linda: *A Pot of Paint: Aesthetics on Trial in Whistler v. Ruskin*, Washington and
 London, 1992, p1
- ¹³⁵ – For details of the Whistler-Ruskin trial see:
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, pp257-258
 Merrill: *A Pot of Paint*
 This case, and a number of other legal episodes in which the designation of an avant-
 garde artist’s output as ‘art’ has been in contention, are discussed at length in:
 Adams, Laurie: *Art on Trial: From Whistler to Rothko*, New York, 1976
- ¹³⁶ – Edelstein, Teri J.: ‘Sensational or Status Quo: Museums and Public Perception’,
*Unsettling “Sensation”: Arts-Policy Lessons from the Brooklyn Museum of Art
 Controversy*, ed. Lawrence Rothfield, New Brunswick, New Jersey and London,
 2001, pp104-105
- ¹³⁷ – Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, pp170-181 and pp206-211
- ¹³⁸ – Fuller: ‘The Psychology of the Ripper’, p15
- ¹³⁹ – For further reading see:
 Mellor, Philip: ‘What a Load of Rubbish: How the Tate Dropped 120 Bricks’, (*Daily
 Mirror*, 16th February 1976), *About Carl Andre: Critical Texts Since 1965*, eds. Paula
 Feldman, Alistair Rider and Karsten Schubert, London, 2006, pp138-139
 Nicolson, Benedict: ‘T.1534. Untitled. 1966’, *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume
 118, Number 877, April 1976, pp187-188
 Overy, Paul: ‘This is so, isn’t it?’, *The Times*, 24th February 1976, p-
 Reid, Norman: ‘Brick Sculpture at the Tate’, *The Times*, 19th February 1976, p-
 Walker, John A.: *Art in the Age of Mass Media*, Revised Edition, London, 1994,
 pp68-69
 Anonymous: ‘Tate Gallery Defends Purchase of Bricks’, *The Times*, 17th February
 1976, p-
- ¹⁴⁰ – Colpitt, Frances: *Minimal Art: The Critical Perspective*, Seattle, 1990, p68
- ¹⁴¹ – *Ibid.*, p127
- ¹⁴² – Morphet, Richard: ‘Carl Andre’s Bricks’, *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume 118,
 Number 884, November 1976, p764
- ¹⁴³ – The article that instigated the controversy was:
 Simpson, Colin: ‘The Tate Drops a Costly Brick’, *The Sunday Times*, 15th February
 1976, p-
- ¹⁴⁴ – For details of this assault see:
 Landesman: ‘The Intrinsic Power of Art’, p-
 Nicolson: ‘T.1534. Untitled. 1966’, p187
 Overy, Paul: ‘Tate Bricks Disfigured’, *The Times*, 24th February 1976, p-

-
- ¹⁴⁵ – Landesman: ‘The Intrinsic Power of Art’, p-
- ¹⁴⁶ – For details see:
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, pp207-210
 Gamboni: ‘Image to Destroy, Indestructible Image’, pp121-123
 Gorvy: ‘Massacre of the Innocents’, p62
 Anonymous: ‘Who’s Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue IV’, *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, www.renewal.org.au/artcrime/pages/newman1.html, (Consulted 24/06/05)
- ¹⁴⁷ – An in-depth analysis of Kleer’s motives, his mental state and the selection of documents that he arranged around the mutilated canvas (including a magazine, cheque book and housekeeping book) is provided in:
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, pp207-210
- ¹⁴⁸ – Kleer’s recollections are recorded in:
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, pp207-210
- ¹⁴⁹ – Quoted in:
 Saumarez Smith: ‘The Battle for Venus’, p-
- ¹⁵⁰ – See:
 Anonymous: ‘The Lights Going On and Off’, *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, <http://renewal.com.au/artcrime/pages/creed.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)
 Anonymous: ‘Tate Egg Protester Faces Life Ban’,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/1706637.stm>
- ¹⁵¹ – All of Crofton’s comments derive from:
 Anonymous: ‘Tate Egg Protester Faces Life Ban’,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/1706637.stm>
- ¹⁵² – MacDonald, Marianne: ‘Works the Critics Knew They Didn’t Like’, *The Independent*, 31st October 1995, p-
- ¹⁵³ – Gogol’s story is mentioned in:
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, pp204-206
 For the original source see:
 Gogol, Nicolai V.: ‘The Portrait’, (1841-1842), *Tales of Good and Evil*, trans. David Magarshack, New York, 1957, pp93-159
- ¹⁵⁴ – Gogol: ‘The Portrait’, pp134-135
- ¹⁵⁵ – For details see:
 Cembalest, Robin: ‘Damaging the David’, *Art News*, Volume 90, Number 9, November 1991, p54
 Cowell, Alan: ‘Florence Journal; Over Masterpieces, Protection Vies with Access’, *The New York Times*, 19th November 1991, p-
 Cowell, Alan: ‘Michelangelo’s David is Damaged’, *The New York Times*, 15th September 1991, p-
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p204
 Grigely, Joseph: *Textualterity: Art, Theory, and Textual Criticism*, Ann Arbor, 1995, p75
 Anonymous: ‘David’s Toe Smasher at Work Again’, *The Guardian*, 18th October 2005, p-
- ¹⁵⁶ – Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p204
- ¹⁵⁷ – *Undulating Paths* was attacked with ink in January 1999 at the National Gallery of Modern Art in Rome. For information on the further iconoclastic exploits of Piero Cannata see:
 Jones: ‘Why Would Anyone Want to Deface a Painting?’, p-
 Anonymous: ‘David’s Toe Smasher at Work Again’, p-
- ¹⁵⁸ – For details of this case study see:
 Freedberg: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, p21 and p48
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p279
 Anonymous: ‘Van Gogh’s ‘La Berceuse’ is Slashed’, *The Times*, 6th April 1978, p-

-
- ¹⁵⁹ – Gorvy: ‘Massacre of the Innocents’, p61
- ¹⁶⁰ – This episode is discussed further in:
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p192
 Gamboni: ‘Image to Destroy, Indestructible Image’, pp124-125
 Grogan, David: ‘Once he vandalized Picasso’s Guernica, but now Tony Shafrazi is a successful patron of the arts’, *People Weekly*, Volume 21, 26th March 1984, p115
 Kaufman, Michael T.: ‘“Guernica” Survives a Spray-Paint Attack by Vandal’, *The New York Times*, 1st March 1974, p-
 Kaufman, Michael T.: ‘Undoing Vandal’s Work at Museum’, *The New York Times*, 1st March 1974, p-
 Merryman, John Henry and Elsen, Albert E. (eds.): *Law, Ethics and the Visual Arts*, Fourth Edition, London, The Hague and New York, 2002, pp569-571
- ¹⁶¹ – Quoted in:
 Gamboni: ‘Image to Destroy, Indestructible Image’, p124
- ¹⁶² – Dillon: ‘Seven Faces of the Art Vandal’,
www.tate.org.uk/tateetc/issue2/sevenfacesartvandal.htm
- ¹⁶³ – Allen and Greenberger: ‘An Aesthetic Theory of Vandalism’, pp309-321
- ¹⁶⁴ – See:
 Gombrich, E.H.: *Ideas of Progress and their Impact on Art*, New York, 1971, p38
 Levitine, George: *The Dawn of Bohemianism: The Barbu Rebellion and Primitivism in Neoclassical France*, University Park and London, 1978, p62
- ¹⁶⁵ – Marinetti, F.T.: ‘The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism’, (1909), *Futurist Manifestos*, ed. Umbro Apollonio, trans. R.W. Flint, London, 1973, p23
 For further mention of the destruction of the past in Futurist thought see:
 Boccioni, Umberto: ‘Technical Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture’, (1912), *Futurist Manifestos*, ed. Umbro Apollonio, trans. Robert Brain, London, 1973, p51
 Boccioni, Umberto, Carrà, Carlo, Russolo, Luigi, Balla, Giacomo and Severini, Gino: ‘Manifesto of the Futurist Painters’, (1910), *Futurist Manifestos*, ed. Umbro Apollonio, trans. Robert Brain, London, 1973, pp24-26
 Foster, Krauss, Bois and Buchloh: *Art Since 1900*, p96
- ¹⁶⁶ – Malevich, Kazimir: ‘From Cubism and Futurism to Suprematism: The New Painterly Realism’, (1915), *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*, ed. and trans. John E. Bowlt, London, 1988, p124
- ¹⁶⁷ – See:
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, pp258-259
 Gamboni: ‘Image to Destroy, Indestructible Image’, p108
 Kastner, Jeffrey: ‘Art Attack’, *Art News*, Volume 96, Number 9, October 1997, p155
- ¹⁶⁸ – Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p268
- ¹⁶⁹ – In 1959 the Situationist Asger Jorn exhibited a series of ‘modifications’ in Paris. These works were kitsch paintings that Jorn had purchased in flea markets and over-painted with primitivist figures and abstract forms. See:
 Foster, Krauss, Bois and Buchloh: *Art Since 1900*, pp395-397
 Shield, Peter: *Comparative Vandalism: Asger Jorn and the Artistic Attitude to Life*, Aldershot, Vermont and Copenhagen, 1998, pxviii and p155
 During the 1950s, Lucio Fontana produced artworks with slits made in the canvases, which he called *Tagli* (Incisions). See:
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p266
 Throughout the 1960s, Gustav Metzger experimented with applying acid to nylon sheets to pioneer a new type of Action-painting. See:
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, pp264-265
 The sculptor Jean Tinguely constructed machines that were designed to auto-destruct in kinetic art ‘happenings’. His best-known creation was *Homage to New York*, which exploded in flames on 17th March 1960 in a staged performance in the sculpture garden of the Museum of Modern Art in New York. See:

-
- Foster, Krauss, Bois and Buchloh: *Art Since 1900*, p382
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p273
 Gamboni: 'Image to Destroy, Indestructible Image', p114
- ¹⁷⁰ – For a historical overview of performance art see:
 Goldberg, RosaLee: *Performance Art: From Futurism to the Present*, London, 1995
- ¹⁷¹ – Goldberg: *Performance Art*, p10
- ¹⁷² – Tisdall, Caroline and Bozzolla, Angelo: *Futurism*, London, 1977, pp12-14 and pp91-93
- ¹⁷³ – This 'happening' was undertaken at the Judson Memorial Church in New York. See:
 Goldberg: *Performance Art*, p131
- ¹⁷⁴ – Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p280
 For details of this incident see:
 Dillon: 'Seven Faces of the Art Vandal',
www.tate.org.uk/tateetc/issue2/sevenfacesartvandal.htm
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, pp279-282
 Henley, Jon: '€3m Urinal Survives Art Attack', *The Guardian*, 7th January 2006, p-
 Jones: 'Why Would Anyone Want to Deface a Painting?', p-
 Anonymous: 'La Fontaine', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*,
www.renewal.org.au/artcrime/pages/duchamp2.html, (Consulted 23/03/06)
- ¹⁷⁵ – See:
 Dillon: 'Seven Faces of the Art Vandal',
www.tate.org.uk/tateetc/issue2/sevenfacesartvandal.htm
 The further 'artistic' exploits of Pierre Pinoncelli, which include setting fire to his clothes and cutting off part of his own finger, are described in:
 Dillon: 'Seven Faces of the Art Vandal',
www.tate.org.uk/tateetc/issue2/sevenfacesartvandal.htm
 Lichfield, John: 'Pierre Pinoncelli: This Man is Not an Artist', *The Independent*, 13th February 2006, p-
 Anonymous: 'Artist Severs Finger in Kidnap Protest', *BBC News*, 11th June 2002,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/2039461.stm>, (Consulted 28/04/06)
 Anonymous: 'La Fontaine', www.renewal.org.au/artcrime/pages/duchamp2.html
- ¹⁷⁶ – For more information on the theoretical basis of *Fountain* and the scandal that it provoked see:
 Camfield, William A.: *Marcel Duchamp: Fountain*, Exhibition Catalogue: The Menil Collection 23rd December 1987 – 2nd October 1988, Houston, 1989
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, pp125-126 and p261
 d'Harnoncourt, Anne and McShine, Kynaston: *Marcel Duchamp*, London, 1973, p132
- ¹⁷⁷ – Gamboni: 'Image to Destroy, Indestructible Image', p110
 At the 1950 exhibition 'Challenge and Defy' Duchamp had installed a version of *Fountain* on the gallery wall, hanging as if it had reverted to being a urinal again.
 See:
 Camfield: *Marcel Duchamp*, pp77-78
- ¹⁷⁸ – Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p280
- ¹⁷⁹ – For details of this episode see:
 Chrisafis, Angelique: 'The Old Man and the Urinal – Paris Ponders a Surreal Question of the Value of Art', *The Guardian*, 23rd December 2006, p-
 Lichfield: 'Pierre Pinoncelli', p-
 Lichfield, John: 'Protester Tries to Chip Away at the Reputation of Duchamp's Urinal', *The Independent*, 7th January 2006, p-
 Riding, Alan: 'Conceptual Artist as Vandal: Walk Tall and Carry a Little Hammer (or Ax)', *The New York Times*, 7th January 2006, p-
 Anonymous: 'Attack on Urinal Work Brings Fine', *BBC News*, 24th January 2006,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/4644032.stm>, (Consulted 29/01/06)

-
- Anonymous: 'Damages Dismissed Against Attacker of Duchamp Urinal', *CBC News*, 9th February 2007, www.cbc.ca/news/story/2007/02/09/urinal-duchamp-court.html, (Consulted 11/06/07)
- 180 – Brener's assault took place on 4th January 1997 in the Stedelijk Museum. See:
 Esman: 'Letter from the Lowlands', www.artnet.com/Magazine/reviews/esman/esman4-10-97.asp
 Kastner: 'Art Attack', pp154-156
 Rimmer, Cate: *Fox in the Henhouse: Acts of Mischief and Malice by Artists in Galleries and Museums*, Master of Letters (M.Litt) Dissertation, School of Art History, University of St Andrews, UK, 2005, pp35-36
 Sokolov, Alexander: 'Alexander Brener: Chronicle of a Trial', *Flash Art International*, Volume 30, Number 194, May-June 1997, pp86-87
 Anonymous: 'Suprematisme 1920-1927', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, www.renewal.org.au/artcrime/pages/malevich1.html, (Consulted 23/07/05)
- 181 – Anonymous: 'Suprematisme 1920-1927', www.renewal.org.au/artcrime/pages/malevich1.html
- 182 – Politi, Giancarlo: 'Freedom to Breathe', *Flash Art International*, Volume 30, Number 194, May-June 1997, p88
- 183 – Sokolov: 'Alexander Brener', p86
- 184 – Lowry, Glenn D.: 'From Duchamp to Malevich', *Flash Art International*, Volume 30, Number 194, May-June 1997, p59
- 185 – Gamboni, Dario: 'Preservation and Destruction, Oblivion and Memory', *Negating the Image: Case Studies in Iconoclasm*, eds. Anne McClanan and Jeffrey Johnson, Aldershot and Burlington, 2005, p170
- 186 – Kozloff, Joyce, Neel, Alice, Rainer, Yvonne et al: 'On the Arrest of Jean Toche', *Art Forum*, Volume 12, Number 5, November 1974, p8
- 187 – For details of this incident see:
 Adams, Brooks, Jardine, Lisa, Maloney, Martin, Rosenthal, Norman and Shone, Richard: *Sensation: Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection*, Exhibition Catalogue: Royal Academy of Arts 18th September – 28th December 1997, London, 1997, p24
 Gmelin, Felix: 'Painting Modernism Black', *The Guardian*, 19th August 1994, p-
 Hirst, Damien: *I Want to Spend the Rest of my Life Everywhere, with Everyone, One to One, Always, Forever, Now*, London, 1997, pp294-297
 Kastner: 'Art Attack', p154
 MacDonald: 'Works the Critics Knew They Didn't Like', p-
 Anonymous: 'Away from the Flock', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, <http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/hirst.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)
- 188 – Gmelin: 'Painting Modernism Black', p-
- 189 – Kastner: 'Art Attack', p154
- 190 – The exhibition which featured *Away From the Flock*, 'Some went mad ... Some ran away', drew 48,000 visitors to the Serpentine Gallery during its run. See:
 Beckett, Andy: 'Arts: A Strange Case', *The Independent*, 12th November 1995, p-
- 191 – Hirst: *I Want to Spend the Rest of my Life*, p295
 The inclusion of this feature actually prompted Bridger to sue Hirst for copyright infringement. See:
 Anonymous: 'Away from the Flock', <http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/hirst.html>
- 192 – For details see:
 Wallace, Sam: 'Tate Protesters Wreck Artist's Unmade Bed', *The Telegraph*, 25th October 1999, p-
 Walsh, Nick Paton: 'It's a New Cultural Revolution', *The Observer*, 11th June 2000, p-

-
- Anonymous: 'Feathers Fly at Art Show', *BBC News*, 24th October 1999, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/484393.stm>, (Consulted 28/04/06)
- Anonymous: 'My Bed', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, <http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/emin.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)
- ¹⁹³ – Quoted in:
 Anonymous: 'Feathers Fly at Art Show', <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/484393.stm>
- ¹⁹⁴ – Walsh: 'It's a New Cultural Revolution', p-
- ¹⁹⁵ – Latour: 'What is Iconoclasm?', p14
- ¹⁹⁶ – This controversy is discussed further in:
 Brooks, Xan: 'Chapmans Target Goya Again', *The Guardian*, 19th October 2005, p-
 Cork, Richard: 'The Shock of the Old', *New Statesman*, 10th November 2003, p-
 Gibbons, Fiachra: 'Goya 'will survive these twerps' says Top Art Critic', *The Guardian*, 1st April 2003, p-
 Jones, Jonathan: 'Look What We Did', *The Guardian*, 31st March 2003, p-
 Shinn: 'Blam! Pow! Splat!', p-
- ¹⁹⁷ – See:
 Fleming, Nic: 'Art Protester Hurls Paint at Chapman', *The Telegraph*, 31st May 2003, p-
 Payne, Stewart: '"Comedian" is Jailed for Turner Prize Paint Attack', *The Telegraph*, 25th November 2003, p-
 Shinn: 'Blam! Pow! Splat!', p-
- ¹⁹⁸ – Payne: '"Comedian" is Jailed', p-
- ¹⁹⁹ – For an introduction to imitative behaviour see:
 Miller, Neal E. and Dollard, John: *Social Learning and Imitation*, New Haven, 1941
- ²⁰⁰ – See:
 Cordess and Turcan: 'Art Vandalism', p97
 Dornberg: 'Art Vandals', p104
- ²⁰¹ – Freedberg: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, p7
 This theory is discussed further in:
 Freedberg: *The Power of Images*, p11 and p423
- ²⁰² – See Chapter Two.
- ²⁰³ – Yuan Cai and Jian Jun Xi Ianjun urinated on the Tate's version of *Fountain* on 21st May 2000. For details see:
 Dillon: 'Seven Faces of the Art Vandal', www.tate.org.uk/tateetc/issue2/sevenfacesartvandal.htm
 Riding: 'Conceptual Artist as Vandal', p-
 Anonymous: 'La Fontaine', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, <http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/duchamp.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)
- ²⁰⁴ – Anonymous: 'Van Gogh's 'La Berceuse' is Slashed', p-
- ²⁰⁵ – This incident occurred at the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam. See:
 Anonymous: 'Slashed Van Gogh', *The Times*, 27th April 1978, p-
- ²⁰⁶ – Anonymous: 'Slashed Van Gogh', p-
- ²⁰⁷ – Goss: 'A Partial Guide to the Tools of Art Vandalism', www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/3/toolsofartvandalism.php
- ²⁰⁸ – In March 1997 the National Gallery increased warder cover of Claude Monet's *Water-Lilies* once it had been returned to display following an assault by a visitor. This measure was taken to forestall 'copycat' attacks. See:
 Collings, Mike: 'Memorandum concerning Damage to 'Waterlilies' at the National Gallery on 24th March 1997', 24th March 1997, *National Gallery Archive*, Archive Office Dossier on Art Vandalism
 This practice is also described in:
 Conklin: *Art Crime*, p240
- ²⁰⁹ – Rainer, Leslie: 'The Conservation of Outdoor Contemporary Murals', *Conservation: The Getty Conservation Institute Newsletter*, Volume 18, Number 2, 2003, p6

²¹⁰ – Goldstein: *The Psychology of Vandalism*, p23

In 1984 Claude Lévy-Leboyer argued that: “In reality, no behaviour occurs without motivation”. See:

Lévy-Leboyer, Claude: ‘Introduction: Vandalism and the Social Sciences’,
Vandalism: Behaviour and Motivations, ed. Claude Lévy-Leboyer, Amsterdam, New
York and Oxford, 1984, p1

Chapter Two

“Their campaign of wanton attacks”: Suffragette Iconoclasm and Trends of Response

On 23rd May 1914 the *Times* published an article entitled ‘Suffragists and the King’. This report related the chaotic aftermath of the attempt by militant suffragists to lead a deputation to Buckingham Palace on 21st May.¹ The forcible prevention of the suffragists from presenting their grievances before the King, and the subsequent arrest of sixty-six protesters, had provoked an eruption of disorder and violence across London, from disruptions of performances at His Majesty’s Theatre to window-smashing in Whitehall (Plate 49). Yet the *Times* was concerned principally with the outbreak of assaults on artworks that followed the deputation. Five Venetian paintings in the National Gallery had been attacked by a suffragette on 22nd May, while, in a simultaneous but separate incident, another suffragette had damaged George Clausen’s *Primavera* at the Royal Academy. Since March 1914 suffragette iconoclasm had already claimed three artworks, and a further five would be targeted in the coming weeks. The *Times* condemned this latest episode as a continuation of the suffrage movement’s “campaign of wanton attacks on works of art”.²

British women’s struggle for an equal franchise had been lengthy. Campaigning throughout the 19th century had gradually earned women improved legal rights to custody of their children, retention of their own property and earnings, and established grounds for divorce.³ However, women’s right to vote proved widely unpalatable to Britain’s patriarchal society. Agitation for female suffrage began in the 1860s, but the movement gained little headway until the adoption of militant tactics by the Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU) in 1905. This manoeuvre injected the cause with greater publicity and renewed determination. In 1918 the government passed the Representation of the People Act, conditionally opening the franchise to 8.5 million women.⁴ The role of militant tactics in securing this concessionary measure would go on to become a subject of debate.⁵ Nevertheless, in spring 1914 many suffragists believed militancy to be the most effective means of achieving the vote. As Ivy Bon asserted: “It is the only way we shall get it”.⁶

Within this context of growing impatience and escalating violence, some extremists embarked upon iconoclasm. The tactic was inaugurated by Mary

Richardson's attack on *The Toilet of Venus (The Rokeby Venus)* by Diego Velázquez on 10th March 1914. It inspired a wave of assaults upon art collections, which continued until the start of the First World War necessitated a truce in suffragist activity. The slashing of the *Rokeby Venus* scandalised the country, and has since become an infamous episode in the history of iconoclasm.

Writers on the subject have cemented the notoriety of the suffragette cases by emphasising their seminal quality. John Dornberg opens his 1987 article, 'Art Vandals: Why do they do it?', with the following sentence: "It began in the spring of 1914, when one Mary Richardson strode defiantly into London's National Gallery and swung a hatchet at Diego Velázquez's *Toilet of Venus*".⁷ The significance of suffragette iconoclasm and its influence is, indeed, palpable. It marked both the first sustained political iconoclastic offensive of the 20th century, and the first ever sustained campaign to focus exclusively on artworks housed in museums and galleries.

Yet, the *Rokeby Venus* attack was not the first 20th century case of deliberate damage to occur in a gallery. It was not even the first time that decade that the National Gallery had been targeted in this way.⁸ The exaggeration of the incident's seminal nature may be explained by the high publicity that it generated at the time, or by the relatively low amount of scholarly attention that has been afforded to 19th and 20th century assaults on art. Either way, many have misrepresented the facts of the episode, and, ever since, the suffragette campaign has been widely accepted as the chronological starting point for modern attacks on art.

While this assumption is misguided, it does pose an interesting question about responding to iconoclasm. If people are disposed to accept that suffragette militancy established a historical precedent for modern cases of destruction, they are presumably equally ready to believe that reactions to these acts established a precedent for tackling them. It could be that the suffragettes' disfigurement of artworks engendered a prototype model of response to such events, a precedent that may continue to inform modern-day reactions.

This chapter aims to address the subject of historical responses to iconoclasm by focusing in detail on the circumstances of the suffragettes. It sets out to explain contemporary reactions to the wreckage perpetrated in 1914 by analysing four different segments of society: the authorities, cultural institutions, press and public. It also determines the extent to which these reactions initiated trends of response that

continue to be followed in modern situations. If patterns have endured, it is important to question their relevance. Are they, in fact, detrimental to current efforts to curb offences in museums and galleries?

When the *Times* referred to suffragette iconoclasm as “their campaign of wanton attacks”,⁹ the longevity of this militant strategy was not all that was inferred. The word “wanton” suggested that these acts were of a wild and capricious nature, and undermined their identity as political gestures. The previous chapter has shown already the dangers of denying the existence and legitimacy of motives; this chapter will expose the pitfalls of adhering to a range of ingrained responses.

Looking at events from this angle, it is deceptively easy to divorce the suffragettes’ destruction of artworks from the background of broader militancy, and forget that assaults were only one form of protest in a “long list of outrages”.¹⁰ Iconoclastic activists did not emerge fully formed from the ranks of the suffrage movement. They, like their crimes, were the product of a gradually developed militant outlook, and it would be impossible to assess responses to these case studies comprehensively without examining their precipitation first.

Founded in 1903 by Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst, the WSPU distanced themselves from the constitutional strategies of the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies (NUWSS). Their motto ‘Deeds not Words’ was made good on 13th October 1905, when, upon being expelled from a Liberal meeting in Manchester, Christabel Pankhurst committed a technical offence by spitting at a policeman. She and her accomplice, Annie Kenney, refused to atone for their actions with a fine, and were sentenced respectively to imprisonments of one week and three days. The story gained much publicity. As Antonia Raeburn comments: “Not only was Manchester roused but the whole country read about the episode in the morning papers”.¹¹

Thereafter, the WSPU drew attention to the suffrage cause through conspicuous and sensational protests, including deputations, rallies and heckling MPs (Plate 50). They, ironically, found justification in the words of William Gladstone, who had remarked in 1884 that “if no instructions had ever been addressed in political crises to the people of this country, except to remember to hate violence and love order and exercise patience, the liberties of this country would never have been attained”.¹² Their campaign was not without support; in 1906 George Bernard Shaw told the *Tribune* that “Women should have a revolution. They should shoot, kill, maim, destroy until they are given the vote”.¹³

However, this momentum did not translate into the political arena. Despite sympathy in principle from many Liberal politicians, a succession of women's suffrage bills and amendments to male suffrage bills were talked out of Parliament. The precedent had been set by the defeat of John Stuart Mill's amendment to the 1867 Reform Act. The repeated failures of the Conciliation Bill in July 1910 and November 1911, and the women's suffrage amendment to the Electoral Reform Bill in January 1913, demonstrated negligible progress.¹⁴ In each instance, proposals were either ruled against or delayed beyond redemption. Suffrage societies called periodic truces in their militant behaviour to indicate support of each new Bill and optimise its chances of success. Every defeat heralded renewed and amplified campaigns of violence.

WSPU members were increasingly led to believe that the only way to break the political stalemate was to embrace militancy. Emmeline Pankhurst later recollected that "We had exhausted argument. Therefore either we had to give up our agitation altogether, as the suffragists of the eighties virtually had done, or else we must act, and go on acting, until the selfishness and the obstinacy of the Government was broken down, or the Government themselves destroyed".¹⁵ A similar opinion was voiced in 1913 by Teresa Billington Greig, a prominent member of the Women's Freedom League (WFL): "Forty years of gentle persuasion has borne no fruit for women".¹⁶

There was opposition to intensified militancy, not only from the growing Women's National Anti-Suffrage League, but also from sympathisers. In a letter to the editor of the *Times* dated 31st August 1912, Annie Besant warned that "men have ever used violence to gain their ends, and there is a danger that women may follow their bad example, and become second-rate men in their political methods, instead of heroic women".¹⁷ The notion that militancy contradicted the feminist ideal was espoused by many.

By 1913 the remaining militant core of the WSPU appeared to have reached a point of no return. Aware that a reversal in policy would both diminish the movement's grip over the press and signify a weakness of will, the Union's leadership found it increasingly difficult either to envisage a retreat from violence or to exercise restraint over members. As Brian Harrison has identified, an atmosphere of pressurised one-upmanship became entrenched among followers.¹⁸ Novel modes of protest had always been encouraged by the Pankhursts, but initiative-taking became

an unruly guiding principle, with women embarking upon window-smashing, hunger strikes and arson (Plate 51).¹⁹ As early as November 1909, the Home Secretary, Herbert Gladstone, told Sir Edward Grey: “I am in a state of constant anxiety touching the safety of the P.M.”.²⁰ The extremist WSPU core was limited in numbers, and most perceived their militancy as purely symbolic, but such fears were reasonably founded. Two months previously, Prime Minister Asquith had been subjected to a barrage of slate tiles, hurled by two suffragettes from a neighbouring factory roof, as he left a meeting in Birmingham.

A change in targets coincided with the WSPU’s escalation of criminality. Rather than direct their efforts exclusively against political figures and institutions, militants began to adopt protest methods that would affect the general public; covertly cutting telegraph wires, destroying letters, defacing golf courses and burning railway stations. The State Assurance Company estimated the total damages attributed to suffragette militancy to be £250,000 in 1913 alone.²¹ As well as causing costly disruption to everyday public life, this new policy was engineered to injure symbols of established male dominance.

Cultural institutions were a particular target. When Mrs Cohen smashed a jewel case in the Tower of London in February 1913, it was not only the financial value of the glass and exhibits at stake, but the emblematic value of the Tower itself. The incident prompted the pre-emptive closures of the Palaces of Kensington, Hampton Court, Kew and Holyrood, and a special guard was put on Nottingham Castle.²² Such measures were not overcautious. Mrs Cohen stated that, prior to selecting the Tower of London for her protest, she “pondered the matter very carefully”, studying a local guide to places of interest, including museums and galleries.²³ Already, the British Museum and the central London picture galleries had undergone a temporary closure after a severe spate of window-smashing on 1st March 1912.²⁴ The conspicuous readiness of the authorities to take these precautions confirmed cultural landmarks as potentially vulnerable establishments.

Following the attack on the Tower of London, episodes of this kind became more prevalent. A significant watershed was passed with the smashing of thirteen glazed Victorian paintings in Manchester City Art Gallery on the 3rd April 1913. Although the collection was the subject of this assault, rather than the display furnishings or structure of the building, the incident cannot be defined as suffragette iconoclasm. In contrast with later attacks, the perpetrators acted at night, and did not

maximise the impact of their crime by courting publicity. Furthermore, there are indications that they intended only to break the glass covering each artwork, rather than to injure the actual paintings.²⁵ As Rowena Fowler suggests, “the incident has more in common with the window smashing campaign than with the later attacks on works of art”.²⁶ Nevertheless, the case provided a clear precedent for the adoption of more resolute iconoclasm.

Between March and July of 1914, fourteen artworks were damaged as a result of nine separate assaults by suffragettes. The first and most notorious of these was the attack on the *Rokeby Venus* on 10th March. Having shattered the glass and cut the canvas seven times with a hitherto concealed ‘chopper’, Mary Richardson was restrained and arrested.²⁷ Previously convicted for assault, wilful damage, obstruction and arson, Richardson was a particularly zealous militant,²⁸ and it was assumed briefly that the mutilation of the *Rokeby Venus* was an isolated incident.

The problem resurfaced, however, on 4th May, when Mary Wood slashed John Singer Sargent’s portrait of *Henry James* on the opening day of the Royal Academy’s Summer Exhibition (Plates 52 and 53). The portrait was a presentation piece commissioned by friends of Henry James, and it had been “greatly admired by the King”, which increased its cachet as a militant target.²⁹ Eight days later the Royal Academy was again victimised, as Gertrude (Mary) Ansell caused an estimated £15 worth of damage to a portrait of the *Duke of Wellington* by Hubert von Herkomer with a hatchet or small axe.³⁰ A third and final onslaught on the Royal Academy was undertaken by Mary Spencer, who slashed Clausen’s *Primavera* with a cleaver on 22nd May (Plate 54).³¹ On the same day Freda Graham entered the Venetian Room in the National Gallery armed with a hammer and defaced *Portrait of a Mathematician* by Gentile Bellini, *The Death of St Peter, Martyr*, *The Agony in the Garden* and *The Madonna of the Pomegranate* by Giovanni Bellini, and a votive picture from the School of Gentile Bellini (Plates 55 – 59).³² Following this episode, the National Gallery was closed to the public indefinitely.³³

Thereafter, iconoclastic attacks occurred in a broader range of galleries, heightening the unpredictability of the campaign. A *Portrait Study of the King for The Royal Family at Buckingham Palace, 1913* by John Lavery, on display at the Royal Scottish Academy in Edinburgh, was subjected to a hatchet assault by Maude Edwards on 23rd May.³⁴ On 3rd June the commercial Doré Gallery suffered the virtual destruction of *Love Wounded* by Francesco Bartolozzi and *The Grand Canal, Venice*

by John Shapland. Ivy Bon inflicted irreparable damage upon the fragile drawing and watercolour before she could be restrained by the gallery manager.³⁵ Fortunately, George Romney's portrait of *Master John Bensley Thornhill* came to less harm when it was struck with a hatchet by Bertha Ryland on 9th June (Plate 60). The artwork, on loan to Birmingham City Art Gallery, had been exhibited at such a height that Ryland could only reach the lower portion of the canvas, and those cuts she made were clean.³⁶ The final incident in this wave of strikes occurred at the National Portrait Gallery on 17th July. Despite significant numbers of bystanders, Margaret Gibb succeeded in delivering three blows to the head area of John Everett Millais's unfinished portrait of *Carlyle* (Plate 61).³⁷ With suffragettes continuing to elude security, further artworks could have been damaged had the outbreak of the First World War not brought the situation to an abrupt conclusion.

Suffragette iconoclasm emerged as a consequence of escalating militancy, as extremist members strove to channel property destruction into new symbolic and financial areas. But what were these women trying to communicate specifically to the authorities, cultural institutions, press and public through their actions? And how successful was the conveyance of their message? Such considerations have an inherent bearing upon responses to these attacks. They may also provide a further key to understanding the adoption and continuation of the tactic.

This discussion requires a brief prelude. Evaluation of the suffragettes' message cannot be undertaken without considerable reliance on the example of Mary Richardson (Plate 62). She was both the initiator and the most articulate perpetrator of iconoclastic agitation. Invariably, it was her comments that were preserved for posterity.³⁸ The accounts of the others involved went mainly unrecorded. At best, they were limited to cursory statements reproduced in the WSPU newspaper, the *Suffragette*. This imbalance of surviving documentation makes it impossible to assess the socio-political identity and motives of each attacker individually. The bias towards Richardson's perspective does, however, indicate the initial priorities and direction of the campaign.

For Richardson, the adoption of iconoclasm was a predominantly political calculation. By attacking a famous artwork in a renowned public gallery, she endeavoured to inflict a two-fold injury on the government.

On one hand, the *Rokeby Venus* attack was symbolic; proof that the government could not protect even the nation's most valued cultural treasures from

the determination of the suffrage movement. Richardson sought to weaken the authorities' resolve and destabilise public faith in their capabilities.

On the other hand, the assault had a strong financial aspect. Some years later, Richardson explained the dissatisfaction that she felt towards the law and its application in 1914: "Values were stressed from the financial point of view and not the human. I felt I must make my protest from the financial point of view".³⁹ Slashing the *Rokeby Venus* was her way of confronting the authorities on their own monetary terms. The mutilation of any valuable artwork is a financial misfortune, but the colossal £45,000 acquisition of this painting made its destruction particularly calamitous. In court, the Keeper of the National Gallery estimated that the damage sustained had caused its sale value to depreciate by £10,000-£15,000.⁴⁰ Although the loss did not affect the government directly, Richardson believed that politicians held the quality of financial worth in highest esteem.

In fact, a more immediately damaging financial implication for the government was the impact on British tourism. Repeated closures of major cultural institutions rendered Britain increasingly unattractive to overseas visitors, and thus diminished profits in this economic sector. While these circumstances should be attributed mainly to militancy in its wider sense, incidents of iconoclasm exacerbated the problem. Two days after the *Rokeby Venus* episode, the *Standard* published an article devoted to the threat posed to tourism.⁴¹ Indeed, by August 1914 the National Gallery had received a letter from the Association of Managers of Hotels drawing attention to the "injurious effect of closing the Galleries on the Hotel trade".⁴²

This economic issue had potentially far-reaching diplomatic consequences. Had the campaign endured beyond July 1914, lack of access to Britain's cultural institutions could have permanently discredited international opinion of them. Suffragette iconoclasm certainly put the international reputation of the British government at stake. In March 1914 the *New York Times* was reported to have remarked that "The British Government is getting precisely the sort of treatment it deserves at the hands of the harridans who are called militants for its foolish tolerance of their criminal behaviour".⁴³

As a protest concerned with attaining political attention by injury to the government, Richardson's act was evidently successful. The government was sufficiently alarmed by its symbolic and financial implications that questions on it

were put before the Home Secretary, Reginald McKenna, in the House of Commons that very day.⁴⁴

Whether Richardson foresaw the full consequences of her attack is a speculative matter, but she was obviously not oblivious to the potential of iconoclasm as a political weapon. On 16th January 1911 the Dutch government had been similarly attacked via their national art collections, when a man assaulted the *Nightwatch* by Rembrandt. The culprit believed that the authorities had deliberately prevented him from gaining employment, and reacted by stabbing the painting with a cobbler's knife.⁴⁵ When asked by *De Echo* about the reasoning behind his choice of target, the man replied that "it seemed to me to be the most expensive possession of the State".⁴⁶ Mary Richardson was well-educated and travelled, and had received an artistic training.⁴⁷ It is not unreasonable to suggest that she may have been familiar with this iconoclastic episode.

Moreover, it is highly unlikely that she could have been unaware of comparable events in London. The murder of an American woman by her husband, and his subsequent suicide in the National Portrait Gallery on 24th February 1909 was documented prominently in the press.⁴⁸ The damage inflicted on four paintings by a man with a metal rule in the National Gallery on 23rd January 1913 created another media sensation.⁴⁹ Although neither incident was political in character, both demonstrated that public attention could be directed by displays of violence in the perceived sanctum of an art gallery.

Regardless of whether Richardson drew from such examples, the *Rokeby Venus* attack was a deft appropriation of iconoclasm for her own political ends. The assault was profoundly premeditated, in order that the associated protest message could be conveyed with optimum clarity. Richardson's memoirs suggest that she planned it at length, seeking and receiving Christabel Pankhurst's authorisation before embarking on any action.⁵⁰ Even the timing of the attack, in immediate response to the re-arrest of Emmeline Pankhurst in Glasgow on 9th March, was not as spontaneous as it first appears. Richardson was furious that the already infirm Mrs Pankhurst had been returned to Holloway Prison and obliged to resume a hunger and thirst strike. Although she was not forcibly fed, supporters regarded this 'Cat and Mouse' treatment as torture, genuinely fearing for her life. June Purvis describes how suffragettes began to interrupt church services with prayers for Emmeline Pankhurst.⁵¹ These circumstances dispelled Richardson's hesitation, and provoked the execution of

her plan. Nevertheless, she took the calculated preliminary measure of sending an official statement to the WSPU headquarters, which was forwarded to the press for publication. She was also sufficiently prepared to present her own legal defence on 12th March.

The uniformity of Richardson's message is equally worthy of comment. Although the slashing of the *Rokeby Venus* had been conceived originally as a general attempt to injure the government, Richardson was able to communicate her protest more succinctly by associating her act with a specific injustice. Both her official statement and defence speech focus on the plight of Emmeline Pankhurst. "Mrs Pankhurst seeks to procure justice for womanhood," the statement proclaims, "and for this she is being slowly murdered by a Government of Iscariot politicians".⁵² Similarly, upon being asked in court whether she appreciated the irreplaceable quality of the *Rokeby Venus*, Richardson replied that "no money under the sun could replace Mrs. Pankhurst. She was being killed slowly".⁵³ This reiterated argument sought to expose the hypocrisy of the situation, where a painting was valued above a life.

There is little doubt that the suffragettes who followed in Mary Richardson's wake appreciated that iconoclastic gestures could convey their point to the government effectively. However, in practice, their communicative success rate was erratic. Today, few people are aware of the attacks that followed Richardson's. More importantly, many contemporaries judged them to be evidence of 'wanton' behaviour rather than legitimate political agitation. The suffragette iconoclasts found increasingly that delivery of their message was handicapped by external factors. Press interest waned as the tactic lost its novelty, and the authorities' adamant refusal to grant concessions stifled the nuances of their arguments.

In some ways this communicative failure was also self-induced. The majority of iconoclasts who struck after Richardson aspired to emulate her by allying their actions to particular injustices. The injury to Lavery's *Portrait Study of the King*, for example, was a rejoinder to the interception of the Buckingham Palace deputation on 21st May. These women were also determined to be arrested at the crime scenes, like Richardson, so that they would have the opportunity to publicise their cause in court and enter prison as martyrs. Despite committing her attack during a quiet period in Birmingham City Art Gallery, Bertha Ryland guaranteed her apprehension by leaving a piece of paper with her name, address and a statement near the damaged painting.⁵⁴ It could be argued that the suffragette iconoclasts were over-reliant on imitation.

Mary Wood's statement began: "I have tried to destroy a valuable picture because I wish to show the public that they have no security for their property nor for their art treasures until women are given the political freedom". It bears an uncanny resemblance to Richardson's words.⁵⁵ A lack of innovation and uninspired rhetoric may have been responsible for the inadequate conveyance of their message.

Yet deviations from the model of the *Rokeby Venus* attack also emerged. The statements issued by other offenders sometimes made convoluted demands. Mary Ansell's official statement called for both the recognition of suffragettes as equals of the Ulster terrorists, and for an end to the sexual abuse of women and girls;⁵⁶ it was hardly a clear declaration of intent. This apparent lack of direction was reinforced by the inability of some perpetrators to articulate their arguments in court. The *Times* reported that Ivy Bon "shrieked furiously throughout the proceedings" on 9th June, exclaiming: "I wish I'd smashed the whole lot".⁵⁷ Far from constituting a rational defence, Bon's outburst was seen as proof that she had acted out of instinctive vengeance. Such behaviour undermined any political headway made by Richardson, preventing the iconoclasts from being taken seriously.

Either way, as a sustained campaign, the mutilation of artworks did not achieve its theoretical potential to broadcast the suffragettes' cause effectively. The continuation of the strategy owed more to its ability to generate sensationalism than to its communicative value. This shortcoming, and the resulting incomprehension that society felt towards the motives of the perpetrators, goes some way to explaining the responses that the campaign elicited.

To account more fully for contemporary reactions, though, one must consider the possibility that the authorities, cultural institutions, press and public perceived motives behind these attacks that were supplementary to political principles.

On 22nd February 1952, the *Star* interviewed Mary Richardson about the *Rokeby Venus*. Although she reiterated her familiar association between the attack and the treatment of Emmeline Pankhurst, she added, with regard to the painting, that: "I didn't like the way men visitors gaped at it all day long".⁵⁸ This suggestion that the artwork's nude subject had somehow prompted the assault was entirely alien to her former justifications. It implies that she was objecting to the portrayal of the female form as a sexual commodity. Slashing the *Rokeby Venus* was not only a political protest, therefore, but demonstration of a feminist mentality.

Lynda Nead advocates this notion, insisting that the case has “come to symbolize a particular perception of feminist attitudes towards the female nude”.⁵⁹ Yet, it seems unlikely that Richardson would have omitted this motivational aspect from her statements and speeches in 1914 had it been of overt significance. Even in her 1953 memoirs there is no mention of feminism. That she had “disliked the painting” is all she writes on her interpretation of it.⁶⁰ It is conceivable that Richardson’s own perceptions of the attack, and reasons for it, altered gradually with hindsight. However, Gamboni’s proposal that her pseudo-feminist remarks to the *Star* were a conscious attempt to render her act more palatable to the values of a 1952 readership seems the more satisfactory explanation.⁶¹

While not a paramount motive behind suffragette iconoclasm, feminism may still have wielded a subtle influence over perpetrators. Agitation for a female vote was part of a wider movement to redefine British gender relations. Throughout the 19th century, society had characterised women by their biology, establishing a stereotypical polarisation between the idealised wife and mother, and the defiled prostitute. Both roles confined women to the private sphere, barring them from engagement in public and political affairs.⁶² On one level, Richardson’s destruction of the image of Venus, the ultimate masculine portrayal of femininity, may have been a protest against the perpetuation of this ideology.

As militancy intensified, instigation of a ‘sex war’ became a prevalent propaganda initiative within the WSPU, culminating in Christabel Pankhurst’s 1913 publication ‘The Great Scourge and How to End It’. This text, advocating “Votes for Women and Chastity for Men”, simultaneously sought the liberation of women and urged the mistrust of men and male authority.⁶³ This dual concept was contentious even at leadership level; Sylvia Pankhurst opposed Christabel’s portrayal of all men as enemies of women.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, women like Richardson followed WSPU policy fervently. This doctrine was probably a factor in the militants’ targeting of art galleries, a traditionally male domain.⁶⁵ It may even account for certain patterns regarding the types of artworks attacked.

Seven of the nine iconoclastic incidents carried out by the suffragettes involved damage to single paintings, all of which depicted either female nudes or male portraits. In these cases, the emphasis was not on wreaking as much havoc as possible, but selecting targets deliberately. Accordingly, feminist impulses may have been significant. As the slashing of a female nude could symbolise the rejection of

enforced female stereotypes, so the defacement of a male portrait could represent the rejection of male authority. Even if a feminist undercurrent was entirely non-existent, this apparent trend and its implications were discernable to society. The ensuing belief that iconoclasm was a specifically anti-male campaign partly explains why this essentially political initiative incited so much public hostility.

Closer examination of the targeted artworks provides another clue to understanding responses, and another potential motive for the attacks. Of the seven individually targeted paintings, four were portraits of eminent men: Thomas Carlyle, Henry James, the 4th Duke of Wellington and King George V. As already discussed in Chapter One, assaulting an image of a person can provide a substitute for aggression against the actual figure depicted. Were these portraits attacked, then, as a milder alternative to violence against the distinguished men themselves?

Most suffragettes wanted to avoid endangering lives through their actions. Richardson sums up their policy thus: "...our warfare was to be without bloodshed. Money could be spilled, yes! Property could suffer; but human beings would be immune, except for the sufferings inflicted upon us militants in the course of the campaign".⁶⁶ Yet, proposing that the suffragettes employed iconoclasm to symbolically harm or shame the men portrayed is problematic. Most of the men whose portraits were damaged were not obvious enemies of the WSPU. Emmeline Pankhurst admired the writings of Thomas Carlyle,⁶⁷ who, moreover, had died in 1881. Although Henry James was a contemporary, his general sympathies towards the women's movement made him an unlikely victim too.⁶⁸ Similarly, the 4th Duke of Wellington was not a prominent figure in the franchise debate. The somewhat arbitrary, even opportunistic, selection of these targets suggests that neither the political inclinations nor identities of the represented males were predominant considerations. According to Fowler, Mary Wood had never even heard of Henry James.⁶⁹

Maude Edwards's attack on Lavery's *Portrait Study of the King* remains the most credible example of symbolic harm. Since early 1913, militants had attempted repeatedly to foist the suffrage question onto royal occasions. A woman threw herself under the King's horse at the Derby in June 1913, a royal wedding was disrupted by petitioners, and protesters commandeered theatrical performances.⁷⁰ Apparently, these episodes failed to stir the King's conscience. By 25th May 1914, four days after the aborted Buckingham Palace deputation, George V's unpopularity was so high

among the WSPU that mention of him was “greeted with groans and hisses” at a Union meeting.⁷¹ However, inflicting physical injury on the King was unthinkable; any violent rejoinder to his perceived indifference had to be symbolic. Edwards’s assault on *Portrait Study of the King* was the most vehement protest she could make without overstepping the line into actual bloodletting. The fact that her hatchet-blow was aimed at the chest area of the image is maybe indicative of her metaphorical motive.

Whether intentional or not, the symbolism of these attacks would have been obvious to society. More than the destruction of property, they suggested an unprincipled and threatening disregard for common values.

To this day, determining the extent to which the suffragette iconoclasts deviated from their political *raison d’être* remains essentially irresolvable. The problem is not exclusive to the destruction of artworks, but can be applied to the militant movement as a whole. For instance, it is impossible to ascertain how many militants were driven by publicity-seeking for their own personal gratification, rather than the benefit of their cause. David Freedberg believes that the *Rokeby Venus* attack was “an activist extension of the egocentric desire for publicity”.⁷²

The complex interpenetration of motives behind these attacks is evident; even the seemingly clear purpose of Richardson’s conduct can be called into question. Considering that modern opinion on the rationale of suffragette iconoclasm remains divided, despite the advantage of hindsight, it is unsurprising that contemporaries found difficulty in comprehending their actions. This uncertainty is of fundamental importance. The ambiguity surrounding their motives gave rise to a spectrum of reactions from across society, not just from within the political sector. And these diverse reactions could have been responsible for a range of distinctive trends of response.

To analyse this variety of responses and their repercussions, it is necessary to divide society into four components: the authorities, cultural institutions, press and public. Examining each area in turn not only reveals the differences in reactions across society in 1914, but also better illuminates parallels with the actions taken after more recent case studies. This approach attempts to determine where trends have endured.

In the eyes of society, the mutilation of artworks by suffragettes was, foremost, a criminal offence. Thus, it is logical to begin with the reactions of the British authorities: the government, police and courts.

Throughout the militant suffrage campaign, the authorities were challenged to contain the proliferation of new tactics, and iconoclasm was no exception. Its unpredictability made it impossible for police to take pre-emptive measures further than augmenting security around cultural institutions, and shadowing WSPU members.⁷³ To compensate, they sought to respond swiftly in the event of an attack. Unfortunately, while all nine women were apprehended successfully, police efforts were undermined by the relative impotence of the law.

The Prisoners Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health Act of April 1913, the ‘Cat and Mouse Act’, hindered the pursuit of civil order. In a bid to prevent incarcerated suffragists from martyring themselves through hunger strikes, this act allowed prisoners to be released temporarily during periods of infirmity, and rearrested upon recovery to resume their sentences. The system was vulnerable to exploitation though, and suffragettes soon began dictating the terms of their own imprisonments. Mary Richardson attacked the *Rokeby Venus* while on leave from serving a previous sentence. Further liberties were taken by Mary Wood, who started to hunger strike immediately after her arrest, with the result that she had to be released before trial. She then went into hiding to avoid re-arrest.⁷⁴ Not only did these circumstances present the threat of re-offence, they fostered the opinion that suffragettes were beyond the reach of the law.

The situation was worsened by the lenient sentences meted out for iconoclastic offences. For damage inflicted on an artwork, the maximum sentence was six months imprisonment, while those convicted of window-smashing could expect up to eighteen months imprisonment. Although the presiding magistrate at Richardson’s trial deemed six months to be “quite inadequate”, the courts could not exceed this limit.⁷⁵ Sensing their advantage, iconoclasts made a mockery of their hearings. During proceedings on 10th March, Richardson proclaimed that the Home Secretary could not impose sentence on her, and that his only options were repeating “the farce of releasing her or else killing her; either way, hers was the victory”.⁷⁶

In some cases the authorities tried to re-establish their dominance by resorting to forcibly feeding prisoners, but this strengthened the resolve of the WSPU, and reflected poorly on the government. Ultimately, the authorities were obliged to curb

the phenomenon through less direct means: by alleging that the assailants of artworks were mentally ill.

During the 19th century, women who deviated from their prescribed function of wife and mother risked being denounced as unnatural and ‘unsexed’.⁷⁷ Elements of this mentality endured into the early 20th century, particularly in relation to suffragists. The view that such women were embittered, fanatical and unbalanced was relatively common. It was affirmed by the onset of militancy. On 11th March 1912, the *Times* described the appeal hearings of five suffragette window-breakers who had been “carried away by the example of hysterical women”.⁷⁸

It is probable that some people were convinced sincerely of the suffragettes’ mental instability. Yet, it cannot be denied that these allegations gave the authorities a convenient opportunity to undermine the legitimacy of the militants’ political justifications. If these claims were circulated deliberately, it is unclear whether they constituted a calculated policy or the last resort of a threatened government. Either way, they were rigorously and effectively utilised against the iconoclasts.

Asserting that the destruction of art was driven by mental illness enabled the government to present the perpetrators as irrational, and their motives as irrelevant. Although this did little to prevent the attacks in the first place, it muted the symbolic damage of the problem. Rather than demonstrating the suffragettes’ collective rejection of government infallibility and male authority, instances of iconoclasm denoted merely the erratic behaviour of deranged individuals. The authorities’ response denied the clear political purpose that Richardson had endeavoured to promote.⁷⁹

Subsequently, the government was not required to recognise these protesters as entitled to First Division detention, a classification reserved for political prisoners that would have implied the legitimacy of their actions.⁸⁰ On the contrary, with professional diagnoses of mental illness, they would have been sanctioned to confine the women indefinitely. Richardson had been assessed by three psychiatrists during a previous imprisonment. Her memoirs recall, with relief, that two of the three certified her as sane, after which an insurance company executive volunteered to become her legal guardian, and so prevent “any further official attempt to have me certified”.⁸¹ Maude Edwards also had a narrow escape from being sectioned whilst in jail. Dr Ferguson Watson, a medical officer at Perth Prison, recorded that she “seemed incoherent at times, did not seem to realise the gravity of the situation”.⁸² None of the

suffragette iconoclasts were diagnosed as mentally ill, although the recent passing of the 1913 Mental Deficiency Act made their situation precarious.

Even without medical evidence, such allegations were damaging to the suffragist cause. The authorities' response became highly effective propaganda, as the press cooperated by pouring scorn on the campaign. Not only did this involve the repetition of evocative phrases like 'wanton' to suggest the iconoclasts' lack of self-control, it also included more overt claims of mental illness. Reporting Richardson's trial, the *Times* reiterated the prosecutor's view that: "One regretted that any person outside a lunatic asylum could conceive that such an act could advance any cause, political or otherwise".⁸³

The public were apparently willing to accept this interpretation of events. By the time of Margaret Gibb's attack on 17th July, iconoclasm was more often treated with contempt than outrage. In court, Gibb interrupted proceedings continually, refusing to acknowledge her conviction and attempting to rush from the dock.⁸⁴ Her increasingly desperate verbal and physical protestations played into the hands of the authorities. Had militancy continued, it is possible that the iconoclastic campaign would have lost momentum entirely, as perpetrators struggled to be taken seriously.

The idea that these women were mentally unstable is now dismissed, but for decades it was perpetuated by historians. Writing in 1970, David Mitchell extracted suffragette activism from its political context to emphasise its strangeness and ridiculousness instead. He even alludes to WSPU members worshipping Christabel Pankhurst as "the goddess of a torrid feminist cult".⁸⁵ Such assertions indicate how compellingly persuasive the authorities' stance was.

Unsurprisingly, perhaps, this type of response has endured as a common reaction towards modern instances of assaults on artworks. Allegations of mental illness remain a convenient way of distancing iconoclasts from society and marginalising their threat to civil order. As Thomas Szasz remarks, "to feel themselves reasonable and sane, they [humans] create and persecute madmen".⁸⁶

This mentality was active in Britain prior to the suffragettes' campaign. When Ernest Welch assaulted four paintings in the National Gallery on 23rd January 1913, he was branded hastily as mentally ill. A week before any medical diagnosis was made, and before Welch had even appeared in court, the *Times* reported that he was "not responsible for his actions".⁸⁷ Nevertheless, it was the case of the suffragettes which established this trend of response. If attacks of an overtly political nature could

be defused by denouncing the perpetrators as mentally abnormal, then a range of iconoclastic offenses might be tackled similarly, particularly those without obvious justifications. In this way suffragette iconoclasm provided a precedent.

All too often, as Brian Dillon points out, there is an eagerness on the part of the authorities to make an iconoclast's "varied and elaborate motivations vanish behind a single, implacable diagnosis: he must be insane".⁸⁸ In 2004 it was reported that a woman who physically assaulted Gordon Matta-Clark's *Graffiti Truck* and *Office Baroque* in Berlin on 22nd September was "deranged".⁸⁹ This was in spite of compelling evidence that the damage was undertaken as a protest against the display of the controversial Flick Collection. Clearly, there are parallels with the treatment of agitators pursuing votes for women.

When the authorities were confronted by suffragette iconoclasm in 1914, militancy was developing at a dangerous rate. Given contemporary fears that the situation could have degenerated further, it may be excusable that the authorities reacted in this way. Yet is the endurance of this response still acceptable when political stability is not at stake?

Reacting to iconoclasm with allegations of mental illness not only obscures the motives behind such crimes, it suggests that these crimes are inevitable. The weight of the blame is placed on offenders and their psychological health, while galleries are pronounced irreproachable. Of course, cultural institutions are often little at fault in these situations, but this should not waive their responsibility completely. Citing mental illness entitles authorities and galleries to take a passive role in proceedings. Iconoclastic attacks committed by the 'mentally ill' are presented as so idiosyncratic that nothing could have been done to prevent them, and nothing can be learned from them to avoid reoccurrences.

The endurance of this response may partly explain Pierre Pinoncelli's repeated attacks on Marcel Duchamp's *Fountain*.⁹⁰ Despite assertions that his first attack on 24th August 1993 was an act of conceptual art, Pinoncelli was lampooned by the authorities and press as a pathetic and unbalanced figure. In the short term, this denied Pinoncelli much of the publicity that he sought, but in the long term it appears to have strengthened his resolve. On 4th January 2006 he repeated his gesture when the same version of *Fountain* was on display in Paris. Whether the 1993 attack was an artistic happening, or whether Pinoncelli was mentally ill, is not the issue here. The important point is that by defining the perpetrator as psychologically unstable, the

authorities and the Centre Georges Pompidou felt able to justify their decision not to examine the 1993 incident any further. Had they taken Pinoncelli's act more seriously, they may still have been unable to prevent the second attack, but at least they could not have been accused of complacency.

A more assertive and progressive response from today's authorities would be to reassess another legacy of suffragette iconoclasm: lenient penalties for offenders. Damaging an artwork is still a crime with typically sparing sentences. Although Duchamp's *Fountain* was judged in 2004 to be the most influential modern artwork of all time, with an estimated value of £1.9 million, Pinoncelli's second attack on it was punished with a three month suspended sentence and a €214,000 (£147,000) fine.⁹¹ The sentences of most iconoclasts are considerably milder. Dennis Heiner was fined just \$250 for defacing Chris Ofili's *The Holy Virgin Mary* in December 1999.⁹² Such penalties are not a deterrent; they trivialise the offence and may even encourage it. The 1959 assailant of Rubens's *Fall of the Damned into Hell* was reported to have chosen iconoclasm as a means of attracting publicity because he assumed that he would not be severely reprimanded.⁹³

Though there is a credible case for the implementation of harsher and more consistent penalties for iconoclasm, legal realisation of these changes seems as unlikely now as it did in 1914. Yet not all patterns are immutable. Today's authorities have the opportunity to stop dismissing assaults on art as the exclusive behaviour of the mentally ill. If they examine individual cases on an unprejudiced footing, they could present themselves in a more proactive and responsible light. Moreover, as argued in Chapter One, this new direction would help to develop a better understanding of genuine motives, and, in turn, assist progress towards prevention.

In 1914 the authorities responded to suffragette iconoclasm with an essentially universal policy. Cultural institutions, by contrast, were obliged to react to every episode on an individual basis. The spontaneity of assaults, and the geographically broad range of targets, rendered a coordinated response from the sector impossible. This avoided the heavy-handedness exemplified by the authorities. However, heterogeneity had its own drawbacks, particularly when different strategies appeared contradictory.

In the event of a suffragette assault, the most effective way of minimising both physical and symbolic damage was for the targeted institution to re-establish control

over the situation as quickly as possible. Initial reactions to the slashing of the *Rokeby Venus* were understandably haphazard. Richardson's memoirs recount that, upon hearing breaking glass, a nearby policeman assumed the sound to have come from a skylight, while a gallery attendant slipped on the polished floor in his haste to apprehend her.⁹⁴ As iconoclasm became widespread, however, reactions became better organised. A general pattern of emergency response developed, whereby the perpetrator was seized by attendants and transferred to police custody, while the gallery was closed to the public and disfigured paintings were removed from view.

This sequence of events normally concluded with the summoning of trustees to discuss avenues of further response. At this juncture common emergency measures were dispensed with as different gallery boards made different proposals. After the mutilation of the *Duke of Wellington*, the Council of the Royal Academy considered covering all paintings with unbreakable glass.⁹⁵ At the National Gallery, meetings concerning the *Rokeby Venus* resulted in some of the "greatest masterpieces" being removed to restricted access rooms.⁹⁶ In each case, the response adopted was guided by various factors, including the nature of the gallery and its collection, its location and available budget. Since the requirements and resources of the National Gallery were poles apart from those of the commercial Doré Gallery, for example, these institutions addressed attacks in divergent ways.

This is not to say that the reactions of larger establishments had no influence on smaller ones. When the Tennant Gallery announced its closure until further notice on 26th May, it was surely following the lead of the National Gallery.⁹⁷ Indeed, it is conceivable that the types of response exercised by targeted galleries at this time outlived the militant campaign altogether. In this respect it is illuminating to examine a selection of them in detail.

The temporary closure of galleries was one of the most common practical reactions in the wake of a militant attack. Today it remains standard procedure to provisionally close either affected rooms, or the entire establishment, depending on the nature of the incident. Yet, in 1914, this policy was adopted on a far greater scale. Following the *Rokeby Venus* attack, not only was public access denied at the National Gallery, but closures were also imposed on another four London galleries and five of the Royal palaces.⁹⁸ From a modern perspective, this seems excessive. Multiple attacks on the Flick Collection in Berlin during autumn 2004 did not prompt the exhibition's cancellation.⁹⁹ The decision is understandable, however, in the context of

wider suffragette violence. The instantaneous proliferation of window-smashing across London in March 1912 could have been replicated with the destruction of art. Now, iconoclastic sprees of this magnitude are rarely a serious threat. While gallery closures are an ongoing practice, their relevance and degree of application has diminished over time.

The enhancement of security measures is another matter. In 1914, most of the afflicted galleries reopened under the conditions that visitors would be required to leave bags, muffs, umbrellas and canes at entrances, and additional guards would be stationed in rooms.¹⁰⁰ There were some calls for stricter security. One *Times* reader wrote that all female visitors should sign a declaration denying their involvement with militancy. Another suggested that galleries should erect horizontal barriers before paintings, like those in the Louvre.¹⁰¹ Yet, while gallery officials were aware of the need to safeguard collections, they were equally conscious of their responsibility to ensure public access to them. Even during the prolonged closure of the National Gallery between May and August 1914, provisions were made for people recommended by foreign ambassadors and ministers to continue visiting the collection.¹⁰² Considerations of access presented galleries with a dilemma, and restricted the enforcement of additional security. Although the British Museum eventually denied access to women without appropriate permits,¹⁰³ the major art galleries resisted such extreme measures while they remained open.

Doubts regarding the effectiveness of enhanced security may also explain this conduct. The *Morning Post* confirms that, as early as January 1913, the intensification of militancy had prompted the National Gallery to take “special precautions”.¹⁰⁴ The basement had been closed so that extra staff would be on duty in the public rooms, and the *Rokeby Venus* had been put under particularly high surveillance in the “belief that it was marked for destruction”. Even with these measures in place, Richardson was still able to strike. Indeed, two months later, Freda Graham managed to harm five paintings in the collection, although three plain-clothes police officers and two attendants were present in the room at the time.¹⁰⁵ After the assault on the *Duke of Wellington*, the Registrar of the Royal Academy inferred his misgivings about preventing iconoclasm, admitting: “We have taken all the precautions possible”.¹⁰⁶ Given the perceived futility of reinforcing protection, perhaps galleries deemed compromised visitor access as too high a price to pay for imposing further checks and bans on broad sections of the population.

Major modern galleries have little choice but to exercise strict security around collections, especially when there is a prominent risk of iconoclasm. With the escalating commercial value of art, bag searches, barriers and invigilation staff are now common in larger institutions. While the balance between protection and access remains a contentious subject, this mode of response has not just endured, but has burgeoned in significance over the years.¹⁰⁷

Alongside these practical arrangements, galleries in 1914 developed attitudinal responses to denote the re-establishment of their authority. The two most prominent of these shared the objective of enabling targeted institutions to resume an air of normality after an attack. Yet, justifying either reaction in modern situations is problematic.

If victimised galleries could prove their resilience, they undermined the effectiveness of suffragette agitation. Two weeks after Richardson's slashing, the National Gallery partially reopened its premises.¹⁰⁸ The Royal Academy was prompter still in returning to everyday business; by 26th May both *Henry James* and the *Duke of Wellington* had been restored and re-hung.¹⁰⁹ As an extension of this resilient mentality, gallery staff began to consider the retrospective discussion of attacks as regressive and destabilising. Once preliminary official statements had been made, the issue was no longer dwelt upon. It is noteworthy that the *Times* was seemingly unable to gain any comment from National Gallery representatives relating to the phenomenon, other than announcements on the accessibility of collections.¹¹⁰

Freedberg offers a deeper explanation for this reluctance to speak about attacks. He asserts that many cultural institutions perceive iconoclasm as being 'contagious', and fear that excessive discussion of it can inspire 'copycat' episodes.¹¹¹ To avoid this effect, galleries enforce a taboo upon mentioning the topic in the public domain. This may have been a factor in 1914; following Richardson's instigation, there was certainly a contagious element to the campaign. It may also account for some more recent reactions to iconoclasm. As the Director of the Dusseldorf Restoration Centre stated in 1987: "Aggression against art can be triggered by discussion of it [...] So why give potential aggressors technical or psychological models to copy?"¹¹²

Over the years, this trend of response had been embraced particularly by the National Gallery. In December 1917, a soldier's mutilation of nine artworks was covered up deliberately by the Board of Trustees, who deemed it "obviously

undesirable in the public interest both as regards the reputé of the army and the safety of public collections” to allow the incident any publicity.¹¹³ Scotland Yard, the Home Office and the Press Bureau cooperated in preventing news of the event from entering the public sphere.

The extent of the National Gallery’s ongoing unwillingness to divulge such information is illustrated by the in-house series of articles ‘The Restoration of the Leonardo Cartoon’.¹¹⁴ Although this publication concerns the repair of Leonardo’s *The Virgin and Child with St Anne and St John* following a shotgun attack in 1987, the authors do not mention that the Cartoon had been targeted before. The most overt reference to the 1962 incident is the comment that it was “slightly damaged during the public appeal for its acquisition”.¹¹⁵ It appears that the taboo on discussing iconoclasm has deepened over the years. During the 1940s, the National Gallery was willing to acknowledge in public the disfigurement of the *Rokeby Venus* as part of the painting’s provenance. Sixty years later, they now decline to discuss any aspect of this episode.¹¹⁶

Up to a point, this response to iconoclasm is understandable, but taboo can border on outright denial. Christopher Cordess and Maja Turcan’s 1993 survey of attacks on artworks revealed that several galleries which had experienced assaults were so anxious to keep information away from the public, and thus avoid ‘copycats’, that they renounced legal action against lesser offenders.¹¹⁷ This reaction is surely inappropriate. Not only does it allow iconoclasts to evade justice, it obscures the extent of the problem, and so hinders research into its prevention. Adopting an uncommunicative policy can also prove counterproductive. It adds a sense of secrecy and mystique to the phenomenon, and it encourages speculation, which can be more damaging than the truth.

The second prominent attitudinal response practiced by galleries was equally short-sighted, but advocated the opposite extreme. Following the slashing of Millais’s portrait of *Carlyle*, the National Portrait Gallery decided to display its empty frame and splintered glazing while the canvas was being restored.¹¹⁸ In doing so, the gallery demonstrated conspicuously that suffragette militancy had not impeded its mandate to preserve and exhibit.

This response was unusual when other galleries were attempting to limit public discussion on the subject. Nevertheless, it had a historical precedent. On 15th December 1890 a man threw a chair into William Bouguereau’s *The Return of Spring*

(*Le Printemps*), creating two punctures in the painting.¹¹⁹ At the time, the work was on show at the Lininger Gallery in Omaha, and exhibition organisers responded by purchasing the chair and displaying it alongside the damaged canvas. *The Return of Spring* continued the remainder of its national tour in this ravaged condition.¹²⁰ Whether the National Portrait Gallery was aware of this happening is not documented, but in both cases the galleries turned misfortune to their advantage.

This trend is still perceptible in modern day. When a cast of Auguste Rodin's *The Thinker* was blown up at the Cleveland Museum of Art in March 1970, it was decided that the warped sculpture should be preserved in its original setting (Plate 63).¹²¹ A new pedestal was decorated with photographs illustrating the immediate aftermath of the attack. These were replaced eventually by a descriptive plaque. Not only was this gesture intended to be a symbol of the museum's resilience and the perceived senselessness of the damage, it was also meant to respect Rodin's "love of the organic and even unfinished work".¹²² More recently, the 2005 exhibition 'Insight Out: Reversing Vandalism' also put a positive spin on destruction. Artists transformed forty-four defaced books from San Francisco Public Library into over two hundred artworks.¹²³

Yet at what point does a show of resilience become a publicity stunt? The owner of the Black Forest Inn in Minneapolis chose not to repair a Richard Avedon photograph when it was shot at in November 1986, claiming that the mutilated image had become popular with tourists. He explained that people "like to stick their fingers in the holes and take pictures".¹²⁴ The National Portrait Gallery could have expected a similar increase in public interest when it exhibited the empty frame of *Carlyle*. Weeks earlier, the *Star* had recorded that, after the attack on *Henry James*, visitors to the Royal Academy had gathered to view the blank wall space where the painting had hung.¹²⁵ With this in mind, it seems unlikely that the National Portrait Gallery's decision was motivated solely by responsible concerns, but rather by the opportunity to generate publicity.

This is a precarious pursuit. Exploiting iconoclasm for publicity-seeking ends essentially amounts to sensationalising the phenomenon. Far from an act of defiance, this response can be misinterpreted as an endorsement of image-breaking. Whether the National Portrait Gallery's actions would have further jeopardised the sanctuary of Britain's galleries is impossible to tell, as iconoclasm was renounced along with wider

militancy when war was declared a few weeks later. Even so, the inherent risk is obvious.

Taken to extremes, neither attitudinal response outlined above can be justified in modern galleries. Their adoption in 1914 is questionable enough. A policy of non-communication could have stimulated damaging speculation, while turning destruction to the gallery's advantage could have been mistaken for an endorsement of violence. Crucially, the potential outcomes of these responses were not in the galleries' hands. The implementation of both policies created contradictory and confusing signals, obliging society to look to the press for an explanation of the situation. At a time when cultural institutions should have been minimising the repercussions of attacks by coordinating a definitive response strategy, they were enabling press reactions to dictate their public relations.

Although the press did not criticise galleries' handling of suffragette iconoclasm, their capacity to influence public perceptions of the phenomenon cannot be underestimated. Their reactions are worthy of investigation in their own right.

Since the foundation of the WSPU, press interest in the progress of the suffrage movement had been keen. The term 'suffragette' was coined by the *Daily Mail* on 10th January 1906 to distinguish militants from their constitutional counterparts.¹²⁶ As the campaign developed, suffrage societies and the press established a reciprocal relationship, whereby agitation was afforded free publicity and newspapers were assured compelling headlines. This facilitated their common growth. By 1914 NUWSS membership exceeded 53,000, while the circulation of daily newspapers had also increased.¹²⁷

This is not to say that the press were universally sympathetic to the women's cause, or that they condoned militancy. The *Daily News*, *Daily Herald* and *Standard* were in the minority in supporting an equal franchise, and even they questioned aggressive tactics. Most newspapers recognised the threat that suffragettes posed to national stability, and understood that they could not be seen to excuse this behaviour. Nonetheless, some believed that press attentiveness embroiled them implicitly in the perpetuation of violence. On 11th June 1914 McKenna criticised the granting of headline space to suffragettes, stating that "the immediate effect of the denial of all advertisement of militancy would do more to stop their actions than anything the Government can do".¹²⁸

When McKenna made this appeal he may have had recent episodes of iconoclasm in mind. The destruction of art had reinvigorated press interest in the suffragettes at a point when coverage was starting to flag. It certainly made more dramatic reading than accounts of peaceful protests. Most newspapers demonstrated their solidarity with the authorities and affected galleries, condemning these attacks as ‘wanton’ and ‘senseless’.¹²⁹ Yet it should not be forgotten that the press were driven by the ultimate priority of selling news, and their responses should be regarded in this light.

As the inaugural event of the campaign, the *Rokeby Venus* case inspired detailed coverage. On 11th March the *Times* featured a reproduction of the disfigured painting, which indicated the locations of the cuts in the canvas (Plate 64).¹³⁰ This picture has a substantial visual impact, and would have attracted readers’ attention. The fact that it was produced on the evening of the assault, early enough to go to print the following morning, is testament to the appeal of photographic journalism. It also bears witness to the newspaper’s eagerness to emphasise the damage sustained.

The degree to which journalists sensationalised the attack on the *Rokeby Venus* is striking. Accentuating the deterioration of its physical condition was part of this process. In a lengthy report, the *Times* discussed the fragmentation of the glass, the positions and lengths of the individual lacerations and the various applications of the weapon.¹³¹ The account verges on melodrama. Freedberg asserts that this tendency to illuminate the minutest details of damage is indicative of society’s “fetishistic fascination with the object”.¹³² This is somewhat far-fetched, but a comparable preoccupation is perceptible in press reports on each of the assaults undertaken by suffragettes. The *Scotsman* related the precise position, length and appearance of the “ragged gash” received by *Portrait Study of the King*. The three cuts inflicted on Millais’s portrait of *Carlyle* are afforded similar in-depth analysis.¹³³

Given this trend of response, contemporary readers could have assumed that the affected artworks were utterly destroyed. In fact, the majority were restored easily at a relatively low cost.¹³⁴ Emphasising the damage obscured this reality, and thereby sensationalised the story. It is a ploy still used by the modern media. Although the *ABC News* report on the slashing of Roy Lichtenstein’s *Nude in Mirror* on 3rd September 2005 was brief, it included the quantity and lengths of the cuts sustained (Plate 65). There was no mention of the possibility of restoration.¹³⁵

Another way that the press sensationalised coverage of the campaign was to exaggerate the vilification of perpetrators. Journalists employed several approaches to signify that assailants were outwith the limits of normal society. It was frequently remarked upon if iconoclasts were apprehended by other women, as this contrasted the ‘unsexed’ militant with the law-abiding lady. Likewise, it was common for their actions to be described in such a way that implied possession by a hysterical mania. Both devices are present in the *Times* article ‘Academy Outrage’, which addresses the attack on *Henry James*.¹³⁶ To elicit readers’ shock fully, the culprit’s ‘alien’ nature was juxtaposed with her apparently innocuous demeanour. ‘Academy Outrage’ describes Mary Wood as “an elderly woman of distinctly peaceable appearance”.

In some instances this response went further, by likening iconoclasm to murder. Mary Richardson was a recipient of this extreme vilification propaganda. Some newspapers dubbed her ‘Slasher Mary’, making overt allusions to serial killers like ‘Jack the Ripper’.¹³⁷ Meanwhile, the *Times* referred to the ravaged image of Venus in terminology normally reserved for human injuries, asserting that the “most serious blow has caused a cruel wound in the neck”.¹³⁸ Descriptions of the damage were more akin to autopsy reports than any analysis of property destruction.

To an extent the suffragettes played a part in provoking these responses. Their propensity to target depictions of nudes and portraits, and Richardson’s emphatic parallels between her attack and the government’s ‘murder’ of Emmeline Pankhurst, probably encouraged the press to equate iconoclasm with homicide. Yet this was not unprecedented. The 1890 attack on Bouguereau’s *The Return of Spring* had been reported similarly by the Omaha press. The *Omaha Daily Bee* ran an article on the case entitled ‘With An Assassin’s Hand’, and a witness apparently told journalists that the disfigurement of the nude was “almost like a murder!”.¹³⁹ This may have inspired the *New York Illustrated News* to depict Carey Judson Warbington stabbing the painting dramatically with a chair leg, when, in reality, he threw the entire chair at it (Plate 66).¹⁴⁰

Comparisons between iconoclasm and murder surfaced in press reactions before 1914. However, the suffragettes’ prolonged campaign allowed this analogy to be reinforced. In subsequent decades, some writers have continued to relate attacks in these terms. Peter Fuller, for example, produced an article in 1987 on the deliberate damage of art entitled ‘The Psychology of the Ripper’.¹⁴¹ Modern press accounts of iconoclastic incidents tend not to be so extreme, although any further displays of

aggression are invariably highlighted to reiterate the perpetrator's 'savage' character. The *ABC News* report covering the slashing of Lichtenstein's *Nude in Mirror* emphasised that the offender bit and scratched police officers during questioning.¹⁴²

Sensationalism sells news. This truism is applicable both to press articles dating from 1914 and more recent ones. Yet sensationalising stories of iconoclasm has never been a responsible reaction to the problem. As McKenna warned, advertisement of such crimes often encourages their perpetuation. And sensationalism exacerbates the predicament. Since many iconoclastic acts are performed as publicity-seeking gestures, guaranteeing the assailants melodramatic media coverage only emboldens them.

Today, the press is most likely to stir up public horror when traditional pieces of fine art are harmed; Old Master paintings, for instance. Journalists can act very differently, however, when a modern or contemporary work is damaged. When Duchamp's *Fountain* was assaulted in January 2006, *BBC News* referred derisively to the exhibit as a "plain porcelain urinal considered to be a major artwork".¹⁴³ This reaction could not be further detached from the scandalised accounts of the damage inflicted on the *Rokeby Venus*. It may still have origins in suffragette iconoclasm though.

In 1914, another means of sensationalising press reports was to focus on the financial implications of the destruction. Prior to the acquisition of the *Rokeby Venus*, funding appeals for its purchase had been broadcast in the *Times*, and the press had started monitoring the painting's rise in value.¹⁴⁴ When the work was wrecked it was only natural that newspapers should be concerned with its diminished worth. This emphasis on devaluation extended to the rest of the campaign. Even though the *Duke of Wellington* was deemed to be "not one of Sir Hubert's most successful achievements", the *Times* drew attention to the cost of the damage done by Mary Ansell.¹⁴⁵ By translating a slashed canvas into monetary terms, the press intended, presumably, to open up the phenomenon to a wider audience. With a financial key, readers did not need to be art-lovers to appreciate the seriousness of the crime.

The monetary consequences of iconoclasm still engage the press. However, in more recent years, a degree of scepticism has developed concerning the high prices attributed to some works of art, in particular, modern and contemporary pieces.¹⁴⁶ The *BBC News* article on the 2006 attack on *Fountain* illustrates this; its tone betrays doubt at the estimated £1.9 million value of the seminal 'readymade'.

In some cases this manner of response assumes a manifestation more extreme than disdain. Such was the resentment aroused by the acquisition of Barnett Newman's *Who's Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue IV* by Berlin's Nationalgalerie for 2.7 million marks, that its mutilation on 13th April 1982 was supported by some areas of the press.¹⁴⁷ *Berliner Zeitung*, a Berlin tabloid, published an article entitled 'Any apprentice could have painted this', and characterised the attacker, Josef Kleer, as a local hero (Plate 67).¹⁴⁸

To claim that the propensity of the press to focus on the financial side of iconoclasm in 1914 was a direct influence on the reactions of *BBC News* and *Berliner Zeitung* would be unrealistic. However, as an enduring trend of response, this inclination may have contributed to cementing the commodity status of art. And when art is reduced to its monetary qualities, the reappraisal of its value is inevitable.

Whether the press respond to iconoclasm by accentuating the artwork's damage and vilifying the attacker, or dismissing the artwork's value and commending the attacker, it is clear that they play an influential role. As long as newspapers take an interest in these stories, it is vital that galleries cultivate healthy press relations. This seems an obvious conclusion, but some establishments afflicted by iconoclasm do not appear to recognise that the media can worsen the situation. Following the attack on Lichtenstein's *Nude in Mirror*, *ABC News* attempted to contact the Kunsthau Bregenz. Their telephone calls were not answered and replies to email correspondences were delayed, prompting the news agency to publicise these communicative failings.¹⁴⁹ Iconoclasm never reflects well on the image of a cultural institution, but the repercussions need not be so damaging. In the case of Kunsthau Bregenz, release of an official press statement would have rendered the gallery a more sympathetic victim. By engaging with the press proactively and embracing their position as an interface with the public, museums can turn the ubiquity of newspapers to their advantage.

The relationship between the press and the public is a critical point. If the press wields influence over public perceptions of iconoclasm, they have an implicit effect on public responses. Thus far, this chapter has barely touched upon the public. Yet their reactions are perhaps the most important. In 1914 the continuation of assaults on art collections hinged on the popular responses that the tactic evoked. Had the public acknowledged the mutilation of art as a legitimate form of protest, attacks publicising other reform movements could have become rife.

‘The public’ is a far broader component of society than the authorities, cultural institutions or press, and it would be misguided to dismiss the diversity of this group by claiming that there was a unified public reaction to suffragette iconoclasm. Nevertheless, it is possible to discern predominant trends of response and trace their endurance through subsequent decades.

When the contemporary press referred to acts of iconoclasm carried out by suffragettes, they often called them ‘outrages’, a term which expressed the most widespread public response to the problem.¹⁵⁰ The sense of outrage permeated national consciousness for a variety of reasons.

As with other demonstrations of suffragette militancy, people were shocked that these crimes were perpetrated by apparently respectable women. The ‘angel in the house’, who provided a moral shelter from the realities of the world, remained a prevailing middle-class image. The notion that the female sex was opposed innately to criminality was similarly enduring.¹⁵¹ Consequently, militant behaviour defied not only the law, but the socially prescribed identity of women. In Richardson’s words, the movement enabled women to dispel “old senseless barriers which had been the curse of our sex, exploding men’s theories and ideas about us”.¹⁵² This perceived dual offence caused suffragettes to be treated more severely than male criminals; in addition to judicial sentencing, they could expect social stigmatisation. During Richardson’s imprisonment after the *Rokeby Venus* attack, she was visited by the Duchess of Bedford, who quoted the Bible and told her: “you do not possess a right or a proper spirit”.¹⁵³ Alice Myers and Sarah Wight assert that public persecution of female criminals on the basis of their sex remains a current issue.¹⁵⁴ Yet this explanation for public outrage is not specific to iconoclasm.

One reason why the mutilation of artworks incited greater wrath than letter-burning or window-smashing is the taboo against physical contact with exhibits in cultural institutions. Members of Western societies are conditioned to behave in certain ‘appropriate’ ways within galleries. As John Conklin states, this normally involves speaking quietly, maintaining a respectful distance from artworks and avoiding any physical contact.¹⁵⁵ Touching a painting contravenes this code. Attempting to destroy a painting places the assailant another step beyond the realm of acceptable conduct. The fact that suffragette iconoclasts did not act surreptitiously, but struck in full view of other visitors, must have been especially horrifying to the public.

Another explanation for the atmosphere of national scandal generated by the campaign is that the public considered the initiative to be an attack upon themselves. This reasoning goes beyond the premise that assaults on paintings in national collections curtailed public access to them. The general population's claim to the *Rokeby Venus* was particularly strong. Offered for sale at a time when the National Gallery was without a director, it was the first artwork to be retained for the nation by the National Art Collections Fund, a body which relied on donations. The subscription list for the *Rokeby Venus* featured bequests from across society, from an "Englishman", who presented £10,000, to a "Young Student", who gave 2s.¹⁵⁶ There was a pronounced sense that the painting belonged to every British citizen, and that its disfigurement was an insult to them all. As the prosecutor said at Richardson's trial, the *Rokeby Venus* had been "presented to the nation by women as well as men, and kept by the nation for the enjoyment of women as well as men".¹⁵⁷

On this basis the repeated targeting of the Royal Academy also aroused anger. The Academy's Summer Exhibition drew annual crowds and appealed increasingly to the tastes of the growing middle and lower-middle classes.¹⁵⁸ Even though the exhibits were not public property, assaults on them marred this popular national event.

Iconoclasm stoked controversy among sympathisers of the broader militant campaign. In the first edition of *Blast*, dated 20th June 1914, Wyndham Lewis urged suffragettes to abandon the tactic: "If you destroy a great work of art you are destroying a greater soul than if you annihilated a whole district of London".¹⁵⁹ His article concludes with the plea: "Leave art alone, brave comrades!". Even Richardson appeared to recognise the inherent horror attached to the strategy. Although she never repented publicly of the *Rokeby Venus* attack, on trial she denied accusations that she had glorified the destruction of art, stating: "I think it is a great shame that I had to think it my duty to do it".¹⁶⁰

If suffragettes and their supporters were uncomfortable with the idea of iconoclasm, this was negligible compared to the responses of the general public, who bore no prior loyalty to the women's movement. From the outset, a significant proportion of the population had been averse to an equal franchise, and the adoption of militancy did not endear people to the campaign. Rather than provide a rallying call, extreme policies like iconoclasm alienated the public, causing sympathy to decline rapidly. Moreover, the passing of the Cat and Mouse Act did the suffragettes few favours. As Harrison points out, when hunger-strikers began to be granted the

opportunity to convalesce outside prison, “many saw their sufferings as self-imposed and their martyrdom as in some sense staged”.¹⁶¹ Given mounting resentment, there was little to prevent outraged public responses from getting out of hand.

Anger evolved into physical violence towards suffragette iconoclasts. WSPU members were long accustomed to abuse at the hands of the public; Helen Ogston was prevented forcibly from heckling in 1908: “a man put the lighted end of his cigar on my wrist; another struck me in the chest”.¹⁶² Indeed, Richardson claimed that her own conversion to militancy had been prompted by her frustration at public hostility: “In a sense I was glad to hit back, to hit out at anything if I could in some way express my detestation of all the filthy remarks I had had to listen to”.¹⁶³ Yet aggression towards iconoclasm was particularly vehement. At least four of the nine incidents carried out by suffragettes resulted in the perpetrators being threatened or assaulted by members of the public. While they were escorted from the scenes of their offences, both Mary Ansell and Bertha Ryland had to be protected from furious crowds by the police.¹⁶⁴ Richardson was, in fact, set upon by onlookers. German tourists threw books at her as she slashed the painting, before a more general scuffle ensued. She remembered that: “As if out of the very walls angry people seemed to appear round me. I was dragged this way and that...”.¹⁶⁵ However, Mary Wood’s act received the most severe retaliation. The mob that assembled in the immediate aftermath of the attack became so violent that police had to hurry Wood from the gallery, while a man who defended her actions was himself seized and “roughly handled”.¹⁶⁶

Although many of the basic premises behind outraged responses to iconoclasm remain relevant, public reactions to modern cases tend to be less intense. It is now unusual for ordinary people to experience the degree of fury expressed in 1914, let alone to retaliate with violence. László Toth had to be protected from the congregation of St Peter’s when he defaced Michelangelo’s *Pietà* on 21st May 1972 (Plate 68).¹⁶⁷ However, this exception owes as much to the bystanders’ religious convictions as their aesthetic regard. It appears that extreme outrage has not endured as a trend of response, but, rather, was a transient symptom of more general public sentiments towards the militant suffrage movement.

Public curiosity towards episodes of iconoclasm is another matter. In Richardson’s memoirs, she recalls talking with an elderly prison cleaner while serving her sentence for the *Rokeby Venus* attack. “You ain’t half upset everyone,” the cleaner commented, “It’s going to cost a packet to mend that picture you cut about.

My word, you didn't half cut 'er up. Venus! Never 'eard of 'er afore...".¹⁶⁸ While Richardson's recollection may not be accurate word for word, the cleaner was evidently animated by the subject, despite having no knowledge of art. She was not alone in her interest. After Edwards attacked *Portrait Study of the King*, news of the incident spread rapidly, and a "considerable crowd" of curious spectators assembled outside the doors to the Royal Scottish Academy.¹⁶⁹ The public responded to each of these assaults with a mixture of panic and excitement, a sensation presumably heightened by the unpredictability of the tactic. Nobody knew what the next target would be, but the longer the campaign ensued, the more an element of anticipation became established.

It would be a gross exaggeration to claim that human curiosity towards the attempted destruction of artworks originated with reactions to suffragette iconoclasm. However, these events may have reinforced the public's somewhat macabre fascination. The survival of this mentality is demonstrated by the fact that the media invariably continues to report on major incidents, thereby feeding public appetite. As Rosie Millard asked, after a photograph of David Beckham was defaced at the Royal Academy in 2004: "Is there anything more thrilling than a vandalised piece of art?".¹⁷⁰

It appears that the search for enduring trends of response to iconoclastic phenomena is justified; various reactions from across society may be traced back to the events of 1914. Yet what is the ultimate benefit of this approach?

On 22nd May 1914 suffragette iconoclasm reached its zenith; six paintings were mutilated in one day. Contemporary reports in the *Times* were understandably agitated that the "campaign of wanton attacks", like militancy itself, was showing no signs of abating.¹⁷¹ The first half of 1914 was a difficult time for Britain. In addition to suffragette disturbances, the government was plagued by divisions over the Irish Home Rule Bill, while international tensions were mounting across Europe. The six months leading up to the First World War are assured their place in history, but they did not mark the first occurrences of 20th century iconoclasm in museums and galleries. Instead, the suffragettes' initiative should be regarded as truly seminal for its sustained character.

The longevity of the 1914 campaign is pivotal to understanding modern reactions to iconoclasm. In many respects, the case of the suffragettes did not provide the precedent for responses, but, rather, reinforced already existing modes of reaction.

Blaming attacks on mental illness, for example, was a solution exercised by authorities long before 1914.¹⁷² Yet the constant reiteration of this response throughout the five months of suffragette strikes allowed this stereotype to become cemented, so that modern society is still inclined to assume that perpetrators are mentally ill. In other respects, the way in which suffragette iconoclasm endured and developed during this period influenced subsequent reactions to the problem. The lack of discipline and direction demonstrated by those who followed in Mary Richardson's wake, for instance, caused the original political purpose of the tactic to become obscured and be misinterpreted. This, in turn, has fuelled the prevailing notion that iconoclasm is often a motiveless crime.

One way or another, the sustained character of the campaign provided a suitable climate for the entrenchment of various inappropriate and potentially damaging trends of response. Some authorities developed the tendency to dismiss iconoclasm as the result of mental illness, and some cultural institutions began to respond by either assuming a policy of non-communication or exploiting attacks for publicity-seeking ends. The press increasingly sensationalised reports on iconoclasm, while the public were encouraged to foster an unprincipled fascination with the phenomenon. The wisdom of these reactions in 1914 is questionable; their latter-day endurance is irresponsible. Defeatism in the face of iconoclasm is self-perpetuating, in the sense that the longer such harmful trends of response are maintained, the more ensconced they become. Moreover, and perhaps most worryingly, these trends do not seem to be restricted to Britain. Various case studies identify that they also persist in parts of Europe and North America.

The situation is not irretrievable. Analysis of the iconoclastic events of early 1914 reveals how outdated current attitudes towards the problem are. The responses enacted at this time were very much products of their turbulent era. The frequent yet unpredictable nature of 'outrages' often gave society little choice but to react swiftly and impulsively, without due consideration for long-term implications. However, this context no longer holds sway. With the centenary of these attacks approaching, a reassessment of reactions would be timely.

Conklin feels that iconoclasm may be subdued if society begins to treat the issue more seriously; imposing harsher penalties on offenders and bolstering this judicial stringency with public accord.¹⁷³ He may be correct. Trivialisation of the crime does not aid its prevention. Yet change cannot occur overnight. Sustained

efforts are required to break patterns established under sustained circumstances. Furthermore, such an enterprise requires the concerted participation of all aspects of society from the outset; if this chapter has revealed anything, it is that the reactions of different segments of society are not just inter-related, but inter-dependent.

With close consultation of the authorities, press and public, cultural institutions could devise a proactive model of response that does not encourage society to shirk its responsibilities, nor leap to false conclusions, but to address iconoclasm in a mature and objective manner. If they take the lead in this way, they could engender an atmosphere where people feel inclined to engage with the matter earnestly. New precedents in the field of responding to iconoclasm would then be established.

References

- ¹ – Anonymous: ‘Suffragists and the King’, *The Times*, 23rd May 1914, p-
- ² – *Ibid.*, p-
- ³ – The political decrees that secured these changes were the 1839 Custody Act, the 1886 Guardianship of Infants Act, the 1870 and 1882 Married Women’s Property Acts, and the 1857 Matrimonial Causes Act. See:
Kingsley Kent, Susan: *Sex & Suffrage in Britain, 1860-1914*, London, 1990, pp27-29
- ⁴ – Purvis, June: ‘Deeds, Not Words’ Daily Life in the Women’s Social and Political Union in Edwardian Britain’, *Votes for Women*, eds. June Purvis and Sandra Stanley Holton, London and New York, 2000, p150
This act opened the franchise to women over the age of 30 who were householders, wives of householders, occupiers of rented property with an annual rent of at least five pounds or university graduates.
- ⁵ – See:
Garner, Les: *Stepping Stones to Women’s Liberty: Feminist Ideas in the Women’s Suffrage Movement 1900-1918*, London, 1984
Harrison, Brian: ‘The Act of Militancy: Violence and the Suffragettes, 1904-1914’, *Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain*, eds. Michael Bentley and John Stevenson, Oxford, 1982, pp26-81
Harrison, Brian: *Separate Spheres: The Opposition to Women’s Suffrage in Britain*, London, 1978
Kingsley Kent: *Sex & Suffrage in Britain*
- ⁶ – Quoted in:
Anonymous: ‘Doré Gallery Outrage’, *The Times*, 4th June 1914, p-
- ⁷ – Dornberg, John: ‘Art Vandals: Why Do They Do It?’, *Art News*, Volume 86, Number 3, March 1987, p102
- ⁸ – On 23rd January 1913 four artworks by John Constable and Richard Wilson were attacked in the National Gallery. This event is returned to later in this chapter.
- ⁹ – Anonymous: ‘Suffragists and the King’, p-
- ¹⁰ – Anonymous: ‘Academy Outrage’, *The Times*, 5th May 1914, p-
- ¹¹ – Raeburn, Antonia: *The Militant Suffragettes*, introduction by J.B. Priestley, London, 1973, p8
- ¹² – Quoted in:
Pankhurst, Christabel: ‘Militant Methods’, (c1909), *Suffrage and the Pankhursts*, ed. Jane Marcus, London and New York, 1987, p118
- ¹³ – Raeburn: *The Militant Suffragettes*, p16
- ¹⁴ – For further reading on the Parliamentary proposals for women’s suffrage reform see:
Fulford, Roger: *Votes for Women: The Story of a Struggle*, London, 1957
Kingsley Kent: *Sex & Suffrage in Britain*
Metcalfe, A.E.: *Woman’s Effort: A Chronicle of British Women’s Fifty Years’ Struggle for Citizenship (1865-1914)*, Oxford, 1917
Raeburn: *The Militant Suffragettes*
- ¹⁵ – Pankhurst, Emmeline: ‘My Own Story’, (1914), *The Suffragettes: Towards Emancipation*, ed. Marie Mulvey Roberts and Tamae Mizuta, London and Tokyo, 1993, p116
- ¹⁶ – Billington Greig, Teresa: *Towards Woman’s Liberty*, London, 1913(?), p62
- ¹⁷ – Besant, Annie: ‘Letters to the Editor: The New Militancy’, *The Times*, 5th October 1912, p-
- ¹⁸ – Harrison: ‘The Act of Militancy’, pp44-50

-
- ¹⁹ – The first occurrences of window-smashing in June 1908 were embarked upon without the leadership's permission, as was the first suffragette hunger strike, undertaken by Marion Wallace-Dunlop in July 1909. Both tactics received retrospective approval from Emmeline Pankhurst, effectively setting the standard for the unauthorised adoption of arson in December 1911. See:
Harrison: 'The Act of Militancy', p51
- ²⁰ – Harrison: 'The Act of Militancy', p57
- ²¹ – Anonymous: 'Suffragist Fires', *The Times*, 21st April 1914, p-
- ²² – Metcalfe: *Woman's Effort*, p245
On 7th September 1912 a glass case containing the Wallace Sword had been broken by a suffragette at the Wallace Monument in Stirling. Although this incident preceded Mrs Cohen's demonstration at the Tower of London, its target was not so nationally prominent, and, accordingly, the event did not prompt the precautions exercised in February 1913. For details see:
Leneman, Leah: *A Guid Cause: The Women's Suffrage Movement in Scotland*, Aberdeen, 1991, p274
- ²³ – Raeburn: *The Militant Suffragettes*, p188
- ²⁴ – Pankhurst, E. Sylvia: *The Suffragette Movement: An Intimate Account of Persons and Ideals*, London, New York and Toronto, 1931, p374
- ²⁵ – In court, both Lilian Forrester and Evelyn Manesta expressed their regret at the damage done to the canvases of four of the thirteen paintings. The works targeted in this attack were: *The Last Watch of Hero* and *Captive Andromache* by Frederic Leighton; *Prayer, Paolo and Francesca* and *The Hon. John Lothrop Motley* by George Frederick Watts; *Astarte Syriaca* by Dante Gabriel Rossetti; *Sibylla Delphica* by Edward Burne-Jones; *A Flood* and *Birnam Woods* by John Everett Millais; *The Last of the Garrison* by Briton Rivière; *When Apples were Golden* by John Strudwick; *Syrinx* by Arthur Hacker; and *The Shadow of the Cross* by William Holman Hunt. For further details see:
Fowler, Rowena: 'Why Did Suffragettes Attack Works of Art?', *Journal of Women's History*, Volume 2, Number 3, Winter 1991, p125
Metcalfe: *Woman's Effort*, p286
Rosen, Andrew: *Rise Up, Women! The Militant Campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union 1903-1914*, London and Boston, 1974, p192
Anonymous: 'Art Gallery Outrage', *The Manchester Guardian*, 12th April 1913, p-
Anonymous: 'City Art Gallery', *The Manchester Evening News*, 5th April 1913, p-
Anonymous: 'Manchester Art Gallery Outrage', *The Manchester Guardian*, 4th April 1913, p-
- ²⁶ – Fowler: 'Why Did Suffragettes Attack Works of Art?', p125
- ²⁷ – For details of this attack see:
Fowler: 'Why Did Suffragettes Attack Works of Art?', pp109-113
Gamboni, Dario: *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution*, London, 1997, pp93-97
Richardson, Mary: *Laugh a Defiance*, London, 1953, pp165-173
Anonymous: 'The Damaged Venus', *The Times*, 13th March 1914, p-
Anonymous: 'Famous Picture Hacked', *The Standard*, 11th March 1914, p-
'Minutes of Special Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 10th March 1914, National Gallery Archive NG1/8, p173
- ²⁸ – Anonymous: 'National Gallery Outrage', *The Morning Post*, 13th March 1914, p-
- ²⁹ – Anonymous: 'Academy Outrage', p-
For further details of this incident see:
Fowler: 'Why Did Suffragettes Attack Works of Art?', pp115-117
Metcalfe: *Woman's Effort*, p311

-
- Rollin, George C.: 'Letter from George C. Rollin, Restorer, to J.D. Milner, Director of the National Portrait Gallery', 6th December 1924, National Portrait Gallery Archive NPG 1767, *National Portrait Gallery Website*, www.npg.org.uk/live/rp1767ba.asp, (Consulted 20/03/06)
- ³⁰ – This attack took place on 12th May. See:
 Fowler: 'Why Did Suffragettes Attack Works of Art?', pp117-120
 Metcalfe: *Woman's Effort*, p311
 Anonymous: 'Another Academy Outrage', *The Times*, 13th May 1914, p-
- ³¹ – For more information see:
 Fowler: 'Why Did Suffragettes Attack Works of Art?', p120
 Metcalfe: *Woman's Effort*, p312
 Anonymous: 'Suffragists and the King', p-
- ³² – These paintings remain in the National Gallery's collections, although *Portrait of a Mathematician* is now entitled *A Man with a Pair of Dividers (?)*, *The Death of St Peter, Martyr* is now entitled *The Assassination of St Peter Martyr*, and *The Madonna of the Pomegranate* is now entitled *The Virgin and Child*, and is thought to be from the workshop of Giovanni Bellini. The votive picture from the school of Gentile Bellini is *The Virgin and Child with Saints Christopher and John the Baptist, and Doge Giovanni Mocenigo*. For details of these attributions see: *The National Gallery Website*, www.nationalgallery.org.uk, (Consulted 12/02/06)
 For details of the attack see:
 Fowler: 'Why Did Suffragettes Attack Works of Art?', p120
 King, David: 'Memorandum concerning Suffragette Attack at the National Gallery on 22nd May 1914', 22nd May 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG7/447/2
 Metcalfe: *Woman's Effort*, p312
 'Minutes of Special Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 22nd May 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, pp188-189
The Parliamentary Debates (Official Report), Fifth Series – Volume LXIII, House of Commons, Sixth Volume of Session 1914, Monday 25th May 1914, 38
 Anonymous: 'Suffragists and the King', p-
- ³³ – Holmes, Charles and Collins Baker, C.H.: *The Making of the National Gallery 1824-1924*, London, 1924, p73
 The National Gallery only reopened on 20th August 1914, after suffrage societies had renounced militancy following the outbreak of war in Europe.
- ³⁴ – For details see:
 Fowler: 'Why Did Suffragettes Attack Works of Art?', p122
 Leneman, Leah: *A Guid Cause*, p195
 Metcalfe: *Woman's Effort*, p312
 Anonymous: 'Edinburgh Suffragette Sent to Prison', *The Scotsman*, 4th July 1914, p-
 Anonymous: 'Militant Outrages', *The Times*, 25th May 1914, p-
 Anonymous: 'Suffragette Outrage', *The Scotsman*, 25th May 1914, p-
- ³⁵ – See:
 Fowler: 'Why Did Suffragettes Attack Works of Art?', p120
 Metcalfe: *Woman's Effort*, p313
 Pankhurst: *The Suffragette Movement*, p544
 Anonymous: 'Doré Gallery Outrage', p-
 Anonymous: 'The Suppression of Militancy', *The Times*, 10th June 1914, p-
- ³⁶ – See:
 Fowler: 'Why Did Suffragettes Attack Works of Art?', pp120-122
 Metcalfe: *Woman's Effort*, p314
 Anonymous: 'The Suppression of Militancy', p-
- ³⁷ – See:
 Fowler: 'Why Did Suffragettes Attack Works of Art?', p122

-
- Holmes, C.J.: 'Report by C.J. Holmes, Director of the National Portrait Gallery', 18th July 1914, National Portrait Gallery Archive NPG 968, *National Portrait Gallery Website*, www.npg.org.uk/live/rp968ba.asp, (Consulted 20/03/06)
- Metcalf: *Woman's Effort*, p317
- Anonymous: 'Militant with a Chopper', *The Times*, 22nd July 1914, p-
- Anonymous: 'Picture Outrages Renewed', *The Times*, 18th July 1914, p-
- ³⁸ – Richardson was quoted extensively by the press, and published her memoirs, *Laugh a Defiance*, in 1953.
- ³⁹ – Richardson: *Laugh a Defiance*, p165
- ⁴⁰ – Anonymous: 'National Gallery Outrage', *The Times*, 11th March 1914, p-
- ⁴¹ – Anonymous: 'London's Loss by Suffragettes', *The Standard*, 12th March 1914, p-
- ⁴² – 'Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 5th August 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, p201
- ⁴³ – Anonymous: 'The Damaged Venus', *The Times*, 12th March 1914, p-
- ⁴⁴ – *The Parliamentary Debates (Official Report)*, Fifth Series – Volume LIX, House of Commons, Second Volume of Session 1914, Tuesday 10th March 1914, 1050
- ⁴⁵ – For details of this case study see:
- Freedberg, David: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, Maarssen, 1985, p15
- Goss, Steven: *A Guide to Art Vandalism Tools, Their History and Their Use: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 1996, p-
- Koot, Ton: *Rembrandt's Night Watch: Its History and Adventures*, trans. C.M. Hutt, London, 1949, p36
- ⁴⁶ – Freedberg: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, p15
- ⁴⁷ – Richardson: *Laugh a Defiance*, p161
- ⁴⁸ – Anonymous: 'Murder and Suicide in the National Portrait Gallery', *The Times*, 25th February 1909, p-
- ⁴⁹ – The affected artworks were *The Gleaners* and *The Misses Constable* by John Constable, *A Castle by a Lake* and *Hadrian's Villa* by Richard Wilson. For details see:
- Anonymous: 'National Gallery Outrage', *The Times*, 25th January 1913, p-
- Anonymous: 'Outrage at the National Gallery', *The Times*, 24th January 1913, p-
- Anonymous: 'The Police Courts: The National Gallery Outrage', *The Times*, 1st February 1913, p-
- ⁵⁰ – Richardson: *Laugh a Defiance*, p165
- ⁵¹ – Purvis, June: 'Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1928) and Votes for Women', *Votes for Women*, eds. June Purvis and Sandra Stanley Holton, London and New York, 2000, p128
- ⁵² – Anonymous: 'National Gallery Outrage', *The Times*, 11th March 1914, p-
- ⁵³ – Anonymous: 'The Damaged Venus', *The Times*, 13th March 1914, p-
- ⁵⁴ – Fowler: 'Why Did Suffragettes Attack Works of Art?', p122
- ⁵⁵ – Mary Wood's statement is recorded in:
- Anonymous: 'Academy Outrage', p-
- Mary Richardson's statement is recorded in:
- Anonymous: 'National Gallery Outrage', *The Times*, 11th March 1914, p-
- ⁵⁶ – Fowler: 'Why Did Suffragettes Attack Works of Art?', p117
- ⁵⁷ – Anonymous: 'The Suppression of Militancy', p-
- ⁵⁸ – Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p95
- ⁵⁹ – Nead, Lynda: *The Female Nude: Art, Obscenity and Sexuality*, London and New York, 1994, p35
- ⁶⁰ – Richardson: *Laugh a Defiance*, p165
- ⁶¹ – Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p97
- ⁶² – For further discussion on the position of women in 19th century society see:
- Billington, Rosamund: 'Ideology and Feminism: Why the Suffragettes were 'Wild Women'', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Volume 5, Number 6, 1982, pp664-666

-
- Kingsley Kent: *Sex & Suffrage in Britain*
 Zedner, Lucia: *Women, Crime, and Custody in Victorian England*, Oxford, 1991
- ⁶³ – Pankhurst, Christabel: 'The Great Scourge and How to End It', (1913), *Suffrage and the Pankhursts*, ed. Jane Marcus, London and New York, 1987, p188
- ⁶⁴ – Sarah, Elizabeth: 'Christabel Pankhurst: Reclaiming her Power', *Feminist Theorists: Three Centuries of Women's Intellectual Traditions*, ed. Dale Spender, London, 1983, p272
- ⁶⁵ – The National Galleries were viewed as particularly male-orientated institutions. In 1891 the National Portrait Gallery refused to accept Susan Isabel Dacre's portrait of the suffrage pioneer *Lydia Becker*, so denying women as "agents of history". See: Cherry, Deborah: *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture, Britain 1850-1900*, London and New York, 2000, p195
- ⁶⁶ – Richardson: *Laugh a Defiance*, p39
- ⁶⁷ – Stanley Holton, Sandra: 'In Sorrowful Wrath: Suffrage Militancy and the Romantic Feminism of Emmeline Pankhurst', *British Feminism in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Harold L. Smith, Aldershot, 1990, p13
- ⁶⁸ – Fowler: 'Why Did Suffragettes Attack Works of Art?', p117
- ⁶⁹ – *Ibid.*, p117
- ⁷⁰ – Emily Wilding Davison was run down on Epsom racecourse on 4th June 1913. See: Fulford: *Votes for Women*, p284
 The wedding of Prince Arthur and Princess Alexandra of Fife was disrupted on 15th October 1913. See: Metcalfe: *Woman's Effort*, p301
 The gala performance of *Jeanne d'Arc* was disrupted in late December 1913. See: Pankhurst: 'My Own Story', p334
- ⁷¹ – Anonymous: 'Militants and the King', *The Times*, 26th May 1914, p-
- ⁷² – Freedberg, David: *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, Chicago and London, 1989, p409
- ⁷³ – Plain-clothed policemen had, in fact, been shadowing WSPU leaders since March 1907. See: Harrison: 'The Act of Militancy', p62
- ⁷⁴ – Metcalfe: *Woman's Effort*, p339
 The failings of the 'Cat and Mouse Act' are discussed further in: Raeburn: *The Militant Suffragettes*, pp205-207
 van Wingerden, Sophia A.: *The Women's Suffrage Movement in Britain, 1866-1928*, London and New York, 1999, pp151-152
- ⁷⁵ – Anonymous: 'The Damaged Venus', *The Times*, 13th March 1914, p-
- ⁷⁶ – Anonymous: 'National Gallery Outrage', *The Times*, 11th March 1914, p-
- ⁷⁷ – Kingsley Kent: *Sex & Suffrage in Britain*, p41
- ⁷⁸ – Anonymous: 'The Suffragist Window Breakers', *The Times*, 11th March 1912, p-
- ⁷⁹ – After the *Rokeby Venus* had been mutilated, Sir Philip Magnus asked the Home Secretary to explain the measures that would be taken to protect artworks from "the wanton attacks of feeble-minded and other mentally deranged persons". See: *The Parliamentary Debates (Official Report)*, Fifth Series – Volume LIX, House of Commons, Second Volume of Session 1914, Monday 16th March 1914, 1690
- ⁸⁰ – Political prisoners of the First Division were classified separately from common criminals of the Second Division. In addition to denoting political recognition, First Division treatment included privileges such as access to books and newspapers, visitor allowance and permission to follow a trade. See: van Wingerden: *The Women's Suffrage Movement*, p89
- ⁸¹ – Richardson: *Laugh a Defiance*, pp153-155
- ⁸² – Quoted in:
 Leneman, Leah: 'Martyrs in Our Midst: Dundee, Perth and the Forcible Feeding of Suffragettes', *Abertay Historical Society Publication*, Number 33, 1993, p29

-
- ⁸³ – Anonymous: ‘The Damaged Venus’, *The Times*, 13th March 1914, p-
- ⁸⁴ – See:
 Anonymous: ‘Militant with a Chopper’, p-
 Anonymous: ‘Picture Outrages Renewed’, p-
- ⁸⁵ – Mitchell, David: *The Pankhursts*, Geneva, 1970, p5
- ⁸⁶ – Szasz, Thomas S.: ‘Introduction’, *The Age of Madness: The History of Involuntary Mental Hospitalization Presented in Selected Texts*, ed. Thomas S. Szasz, London, 1975, p4
 This idea is discussed further in:
 Fine, Gary Alan and Shatin, Deborah: ‘Crimes Against Art: Social Meanings and Symbolic Attacks’, *Empirical Studies of the Arts*, Volume 3, 1985, p138 and pp148-149
- ⁸⁷ – Anonymous: ‘Outrage at the National Gallery’, p-
- ⁸⁸ – Dillon, Brian: ‘Seven Faces of the Art Vandal’, *Tate Etc.*, Issue 2, Autumn 2004, www.tate.org.uk/tateetc/issue2/sevenfacesartvandal.htm, (Consulted 24/06/05)
- ⁸⁹ – Kimmelman, Michael: ‘History’s Long, Dark Shadow at Berlin Show’, *New York Times*, 27th September 2004, www.nytimes.com/2004/09/27/arts/design/27flic.html, (Consulted 27/09/04)
 This case study is discussed in Chapter One.
- ⁹⁰ – Pinoncelli sprinkled liquid on the Centre Georges Pompidou’s version of *Fountain* and hit it with a hammer at the Carre d’Art in Nîmes on 24th August 1993. He repeated his gesture by striking the same version with a hammer when it was exhibited in the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris on 4th January 2006. For details of both assaults see Chapter One.
- ⁹¹ – Anonymous: ‘Attack on Urinal Work Brings Fine’, *BBC News*, 24th January 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/4644032.stm>, (Consulted 29/01/06)
 In fact, on 9th February 2007 an Appeal Court ruled that Pinoncelli did not have to pay the €214,000 damages, though his three month suspended sentence was upheld.
 See:
 Anonymous: ‘Damages Dismissed Against Attacker of Duchamp Urinal’, *CBC News*, 9th February 2007, www.cbc.ca/news/story/2007/02/09/urinal-duchamp-court.html, (Consulted 11/06/07)
 Anonymous: ‘Duchamp Urinal Conviction Upheld’, *The Independent*, 10th February 2007, p-
- ⁹² – Anonymous: ‘\$250 Fine for Ofili Vandal’, *Artnet News*, 16th November 2000 www.artnet.com/magazine/news/artnetnews/artnetnews11-16-00.asp, (Consulted 23/03/06)
 For details of this case see Chapter One.
- ⁹³ – Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p199
 This incident is discussed in Chapter One.
- ⁹⁴ – Richardson: *Laugh a Defiance*, p168
- ⁹⁵ – Anonymous: ‘Another Academy Outrage’, p-
- ⁹⁶ – Anonymous: ‘The National Gallery: Partial Reopening to the Public To-Day’, *The Times*, 25th March 1914, p-
 The artworks removed from general public display at this time included *Bacchus and Ariadne* by Titian and *Christina of Denmark, The Duchess of Milan* by Holbein. See: ‘Minutes of Adjourned Meeting of the National Gallery Board’, 24th March 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, p180
- ⁹⁷ – The closure of the Tennant Gallery was announced in:
 Anonymous: ‘Militants and the King’, p-
 The closure of the National Gallery had been announced three days previously in:
 Anonymous: ‘Suffragists and the King’, p-

-
- ⁹⁸ – Anonymous: ‘The Damaged Venus’, *The Times*, 12th March 1914, p-
Those institutions affected were the Guildhall Art Gallery, the National Portrait Gallery, the Tate Gallery, the Wallace Collection, the State Apartments at Windsor Castle, and the Palaces of Hampton Court, Holyrood, Kensington and Kew.
- ⁹⁹ – Following attacks on Gordon Matta-Clark’s *Graffiti Truck* and *Office Baroque* on 22nd September 2004, Paul McCarthy’s *Michael Jackson and Bubbles (Gold)* was assaulted on 30th November. For details of this attack see:
Fineman, Mia: ‘Art Attacks’, *The New York Times*, 12th December 2004, p-
Grieshaber, Kirsten: ‘Attempted Art Attack’, *The New York Times*, 2nd December 2004, p-
Rimmer, Cate: *Fox in the Henhouse: Acts of Mischief and Malice by Artists in Galleries and Museums*, Master of Letters (M.Litt) Dissertation, School of Art History, University of St Andrews, UK, 2005, pp30-31
Anonymous: ‘Bid to Deface Jackson Art Fails’, *BBC News*, 2nd December 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/arts/4060919.stm>, (Consulted 23/03/06)
- ¹⁰⁰ – Such security precautions were adopted by the National Gallery after Richardson’s attack. See:
‘Minutes of Adjourned Special Meeting of the National Gallery Board’, 17th March 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, p178
- ¹⁰¹ – Lodge, Mary F.A. and de la Poer Beresford, C.E.: ‘Letters to the Editor: Outrages at Picture Galleries’, *The Times*, 25th May 1914, p-
- ¹⁰² – See:
‘Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board’, 9th June 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, p191
‘Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board’, 14th July 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, p195
‘Minutes of Special Meeting of the National Gallery Board’, 22nd May 1914, p189
- ¹⁰³ – Anonymous: ‘Militant Outrages’, p-
This measure was adopted in response to two suffragettes smashing the glass case of an Egyptian mummy at the British Museum on 23rd May 1914.
- ¹⁰⁴ – Anonymous: ‘The “Rokeby Venus” Damaged’, *The Morning Post*, 11th March 1914, p-
- ¹⁰⁵ – The controversy surrounding the vigilance of plain-clothes police officers stationed in the National Gallery is referred to in:
Ambrose, George: ‘Letter from George Ambrose, Secretary of the National Gallery, to the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police’, 25th May 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG6/28, p358
King: ‘Memorandum concerning Suffragette Attack at the National Gallery on 22nd May 1914’
‘Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board’, 10th June 1913, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, p145
‘Minutes of Special Meeting of the National Gallery Board’, 22nd May 1914, p188
- ¹⁰⁶ – Anonymous: ‘Another Militant Outrage’, *The Morning Post*, 13th May 1914, p-
- ¹⁰⁷ – For a full discussion about responding to iconoclasm through security enhancement, and an in-depth analysis of the security-access debate, see Chapter Four.
- ¹⁰⁸ – Anonymous: ‘The National Gallery: Partial Reopening to the Public To-Day’, p-
- ¹⁰⁹ – Anonymous: ‘Militants and the King’, p-
- ¹¹⁰ – Despite extensive coverage, none of the following *Times* articles feature commentary from National Gallery representatives:
Anonymous: ‘The Damaged Venus’, *The Times*, 12th March 1914, p-
Anonymous: ‘The Damaged Venus’, *The Times*, 13th March 1914, p-
Anonymous: ‘National Gallery Outrage’, *The Times*, 11th March 1914, p-
Anonymous: ‘The National Gallery: Partial Reopening to the Public To-Day’, *The Times*, 25th March 1914, p-

-
- Anonymous: 'Partial Reopening of the National Gallery', *The Times*, 18th March 1914, p-
- Anonymous: 'Suffragists and the King', *The Times*, 23rd May 1914, p-
- ¹¹¹ – Freedberg: *The Power of Images*, p423
- ¹¹² – Quoted in:
Dornberg: 'Art Vandals', p104
- ¹¹³ – 'Minutes of Special Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 13th December 1917, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, pp384-385
Private Robin Pearce damaged nine artworks with a trenching tool on 12th December 1917, including: *Portrait of a Man* (now titled *Self Portrait*) by Jan Lievens; *Marchesa Cattaneo* (now titled *Portrait of a Woman*) by Van Dyck; *Seaport with the Embarkation of St Ursula* by Claude; *Mrs Trotter* by Romney; *Self Portrait* by Hogarth; *Lady Standing at a Spinet* (now titled *A Woman Standing at a Harpsichord, a Man Seated by her*) by Ochtervelt; *Man with a Cap* by Rembrandt (now titled *A Study of an Elderly Man in a Cap* and thought to be by an imitator of Rembrandt); *Waves on a Lee Shore* by Turner; and *Study at Petworth* by Turner. For details of these attributions see:
The National Gallery Website, www.nationalgallery.org.uk, (Consulted 19/03/07)
- ¹¹⁴ – Harding, Eric, Braham, Allan, Wyld, Martin and Burnstock, Aviva: 'The Restoration of the Leonardo Cartoon', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, Volume 13, 1989, pp4-27
- ¹¹⁵ – Wyld, Martin: 'The Restoration of the Leonardo Cartoon: The History of the Cartoon', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, Volume 13, 1989, p13
The 1987 attack on the Leonardo Cartoon is mentioned in Chapter One. The 1962 attack, which occurred on 27th June when a man threw a bottle of ink at the Cartoon, is discussed in the Introduction.
- ¹¹⁶ – Information on Richardson's attack features in:
Maclaren, Neil: *Velazquez: The Rokeby Venus in the National Gallery*, London, 1943, p16
Yet it is not mentioned currently on the National Gallery's website, and both the Department of Conservation and the Department of Visitor Services and Security felt unable to talk about the episode:
Correspondence with Jon Campbell, Head of Visitor Services and Security at National Gallery, London, UK (Sent 21/11/05)
Correspondence with Martin Wyld, Director of Conservation at National Gallery, London, UK (Sent 09/11/05)
- ¹¹⁷ – Cordess, Christopher and Turcan, Maja: 'Art Vandalism', *British Journal of Criminology*, Volume 33, Winter 1993, p97
- ¹¹⁸ – See:
Holmes: 'Report by C.J. Holmes, Director of the National Portrait Gallery', www.npg.org.uk/live/rp968ba.asp
Anonymous: 'Picture Outrages Renewed', p-
- ¹¹⁹ – This case study is explored in Chapter One.
- ¹²⁰ – Anonymous: *William Bouguereau 1825-1905*, Exhibition Catalogue: Musée du Petit-Palais, Paris, 9 Février – 6 Mai 1984; Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal, 22 Juin – 23 Septembre 1984; The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, 27 Octobre 1984 – 13 Janvier 1985, p234
- ¹²¹ – This iconoclastic incident occurred on the night of the 24th March 1970. The reason behind it was never determined, although it could have been a protest against the Vietnam War. For details see:
Elsen, Albert: 'What We Have Learned about Modern Public Sculpture: Ten Propositions', *Art Journal*, Volume 48, Number 4, Winter 1989, p296
Grigely, Joseph: *Textualterity: Art, Theory, and Textual Criticism*, Ann Arbor, 1995, pp76-78

-
- ¹²² – Correspondence with Carolyn T. Thum, former Associate Registrar at The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, USA (Sent 04/10/05)
- ¹²³ – See:
 Indyke, Dottie: 'Insight Out: Reversing Vandalism' (Exhibition Review), *Art News*, Volume 104, Number 6, June 2005, pp130-131
 Anonymous: 'Reversing Vandalism – Destroyed Books Transformed into Art', *San Francisco Public Library*, <http://sfpl.lib.ca.us/news/revvandalism.htm>, (Consulted 24/06/05)
- ¹²⁴ – Quoted in:
 Goss, Steven: 'A Partial Guide to the Tools of Art Vandalism', *Cabinet Magazine*, Issue 3, Summer 2001, www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/3/toolsofartvandalism.php, (Consulted 23/09/05)
- ¹²⁵ – Fowler: 'Why Did Suffragettes Attack Works of Art?', p117
- ¹²⁶ – Tickner, Lisa: *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign 1907-14*, London, 1987, p8
- ¹²⁷ – For details of NUWSS growth see:
 Garner: *Stepping Stones to Women's Liberty*, p11
 The growth of the WPSU in the latter years is more difficult to gauge, as they did not divulge membership lists. For details of the growth of the press see:
 Liddington, Jill and Norris, Jill: *One Hand Tied Behind Us: The Rise of the Women's Suffrage Movement*, London, 1978, p16
- ¹²⁸ – *The Parliamentary Debates (Official Report)*, Fifth Series – Volume LXIII, House of Commons, Sixth Volume of Session 1914, Thursday 11th June 1914, 522
- ¹²⁹ – This type of language was used extensively in the *Morning Post* accounts of the *Rokeby Venus* attack:
 Anonymous: 'National Gallery Outrage', *The Morning Post*, 13th March 1914, p-
 Anonymous: 'The "Rokeby Venus" Damaged', p-
- ¹³⁰ – Anonymous: 'The National Gallery Outrage: Reproduction of the Damaged Picture', *The Times*, 11th March 1914, p-
- ¹³¹ – Anonymous: 'National Gallery Outrage', *The Times*, 11th March 1914, p-
- ¹³² – Freedberg: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, p43
- ¹³³ – The damage to *Portrait Study of the King* is reported in:
 Anonymous: 'Suffragette Outrage', p-
 The damage to *Carlyle* is reported in:
 Anonymous: 'Picture Outrages Renewed', p-
- ¹³⁴ – The cost of relining and repairing the *Rokeby Venus* was estimated to be less than £100.
 See:
 Anonymous: 'Art Treasures', *The Standard*, 14th March 1914, p-
 Anonymous: 'The Damaged Venus', *The Times*, 12th March 1914, p-
 Anonymous: 'National Gallery Outrage', *The Times*, 11th March 1914, p-
 The only artworks rendered completely beyond restoration were *Love Wounded* by Bartolozzi and *The Grand Canal, Venice* by Shapland.
- ¹³⁵ – Loof, Susanna: 'Lichtenstein Painting Slashed in Austria', *ABC News*, 4th September 2005, <http://abcnews.go.com/Entertainment/print?id=1096786>, (Consulted 12/09/05)
Nude in Mirror was attacked by a woman with a pocket knife at the Kunsthau Bregenz in Austria. For details see:
 Loof, Susanna: 'Lichtenstein Painting Vandalised', *The Independent*, 5th September 2005, p-
 Anonymous: 'Pop Art Painting Knifed at Museum', *BBC News*, 5th September 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/arts/4214680.stm>, (Consulted 12/09/05)
- ¹³⁶ – Anonymous: 'Academy Outrage', p-
- ¹³⁷ – Nead: *The Female Nude*, pp38-42
- ¹³⁸ – Anonymous: 'National Gallery Outrage', *The Times*, 11th March 1914, p-

-
- ¹³⁹ – Anonymous: ‘With an Assassin’s Hand’, *Omaha Daily Bee*, Number 181, 16th December 1890, p-
The account of the witness, Robert Patrick, is mentioned in:
Anonymous: ‘The Diary: Seventy-Five Years Ago – 1890’, *Omaha Evening World-Herald*, 15th December 1965, p-
- ¹⁴⁰ – Anonymous: ‘Smashed an Eighteen-Thousand Dollar Picture’, *New York Illustrated News*, Volume III, Number 154, 3rd January 1891, p-
- ¹⁴¹ – Fuller, Peter: ‘The Psychology of the Ripper’, *New Society*, 31st July 1987, pp14-15
- ¹⁴² – Loof: ‘Lichtenstein Painting Slashed in Austria’,
<http://abcnews.go.com/Entertainment/print?id=1096786>
- ¹⁴³ – Anonymous: ‘Man Held for Hitting Urinal Work’, *BBC News*, 6th January 2006,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/4587988.stm>, (Consulted 08/01/06)
- ¹⁴⁴ – The original funding appeal features in:
Anonymous: ‘Messrs. Agnew’s Exhibition’, *The Times*, 7th November 1905, p-
Press interest in the value of the *Rokeby Venus* is discussed in:
Freedberg: *The Power of Images*, p412
Saumarez Smith, Charles: ‘The Battle for Venus’, *New Statesman*, 10th November 2003, p-
- ¹⁴⁵ – Anonymous: ‘Another Academy Outrage’, p-
The quality of the *Duke of Wellington* is discussed in:
Anonymous: ‘Another Militant Outrage’, p-
- ¹⁴⁶ – This issue is brought up in Chapter One. For further reading see:
Alberge, Dalya: ‘Critic Savages ‘Obscene’ Price for Picasso’, *The Times*, 3rd June 2004, p-
Conklin, John E.: *Art Crime*, Westport, Connecticut and London, 1994, pp15-45
Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, pp175-179
Walker, John A.: *Art in the Age of Mass Media*, Revised Edition, London, 1994, pp68-69
- ¹⁴⁷ – This case study is described in Chapter One.
- ¹⁴⁸ – Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, pp207-210
- ¹⁴⁹ – Loof: ‘Lichtenstein Painting Slashed in Austria’,
<http://abcnews.go.com/Entertainment/print?id=1096786>
- ¹⁵⁰ – The term ‘outrage’ featured in the headlines of numerous press reports on suffragette iconoclasm, including:
Anonymous: ‘Academy Outrage’, *The Times*, 5th May 1914, p-
Anonymous: ‘Another Academy Outrage’, *The Times*, 13th May 1914, p-
Anonymous: ‘Another Militant Outrage’, *The Morning Post*, 13th May 1914, p-
Anonymous: ‘Doré Gallery Outrage’, *The Times*, 4th June 1914, p-
Anonymous: ‘Militant Outrages’, *The Times*, 25th May 1914, p-
Anonymous: ‘National Gallery Outrage’, *The Morning Post*, 13th March 1914, p-
Anonymous: ‘National Gallery Outrage’, *The Times*, 11th March 1914, p-
Anonymous: ‘Picture Outrages Renewed’, *The Times*, 18th July 1914, p-
Anonymous: ‘Suffragette Outrage’, *The Scotsman*, 25th May 1914, p-
- ¹⁵¹ – Late 19th century female stereotypes are discussed in:
Billington: ‘Ideology and Feminism’, pp664-670
Kingsley Kent: *Sex & Suffrage in Britain*, pp31-34
Zedner: *Women, Crime, and Custody in Victorian England*, pp14-23
- ¹⁵² – Richardson: *Laugh a Defiance*, p103
- ¹⁵³ – *Ibid.*, p171
- ¹⁵⁴ – Myers, Alice and Wight, Sarah: ‘Introduction’, *No Angels: Women who Commit Violence*, eds. Alice Myers and Sarah Wight, London and San Francisco, 1996, pxiii
- ¹⁵⁵ – Conklin: *Art Crime*, p241

-
- ¹⁵⁶ – Anonymous: ‘National Gallery Outrage’, *The Times*, 11th March 1914, p-
The 1903 foundation of the National Art Collections Fund and the 1905 acquisition of the *Rokeby Venus* are discussed in:
Barker, Emma: ‘Heritage and the Country House’, *Contemporary Cultures of Display*, ed. Emma Barker, New Haven and London, 1999, p208
Turner, Hawes: ‘Letter from Hawes Turner, Secretary of the National Gallery, to the Secretary of the National Art Collections Fund’, 22nd November 1905, *National Gallery Archive* NG6/25, p521
Saumarez Smith: ‘The Battle for Venus’, p-
‘Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board’, 19th December 1905, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/7, p255-256
‘Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board’, 3rd April 1906, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/7, p274
‘Minutes of Special Meeting of the National Gallery Board’, 22nd November 1905, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/7, p253
- ¹⁵⁷ – Anonymous: ‘The Damaged Venus’, *The Times*, 13th March 1914, p-
- ¹⁵⁸ – For further reading on the audience of the Royal Academy and its Summer Exhibition see:
Fyfe, Gordon: ‘A Trojan Horse at the Tate: Theorizing the Museum as Agency and Structure’, *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World*, eds. Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe, Oxford and Cambridge (MA), 2004, p218
Hutchison, Sidney C.: *The History of the Royal Academy 1768-1968*, London, 1968, pp149-150
Lamb, W.R.M.: *The Royal Academy: A Short History of its Foundation and Development to the Present Day*, London, 1935, pp110-112
Macleod, Dianne Sachko: ‘Art Collecting and Victorian Middle-Class Taste’, *Art History*, Volume 10, Number 3, September 1987, p329
- ¹⁵⁹ – Lewis, Wyndham: ‘To Suffragettes’, *Blast*, Number 1, 20th June 1914, p152
- ¹⁶⁰ – Anonymous: ‘National Gallery Outrage’, *The Morning Post*, 13th March 1914, p-
- ¹⁶¹ – Harrison: *Separate Spheres*, p180
- ¹⁶² – Quoted in:
Pankhurst: *The Suffragette Movement*, p297
- ¹⁶³ – Richardson: *Laugh a Defiance*, p12
- ¹⁶⁴ – Aggressive public responses to Mary Ansell’s attack are described in:
Anonymous: ‘Another Academy Outrage’, p-
Responses to Bertha Ryland’s attack are described in:
Anonymous: ‘The Suppression of Militancy’, p-
- ¹⁶⁵ – Richardson: *Laugh a Defiance*, p169
- ¹⁶⁶ – See:
Dixon, E.F.: ‘Police Report Recording the Damage to Sargent’s Portrait of Henry James’, 4th May 1914, *Royal Academy Website*, www.royalacademy.org.uk/files/suff7zD4Z1.jpg, (Consulted 20/03/06)
Anonymous: ‘Academy Outrage’, p-
Anonymous: ‘The Militant Suffragists’, *The Morning Post*, 5th May 1914, p-
- ¹⁶⁷ – For details see:
Clough, Patricia: ‘Pieta is Smashed in St Peter’s’, *The Times*, 22nd May 1972, p-
Fine and Shatin: ‘Crimes Against Art’, pp139-149
Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p202
Teunissen, John J. and Hinz, Evelyn J.: ‘The Attack on the Pietà: An Archetypal Analysis’, *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Volume 33, Number 1, Autumn 1974, pp43-50

-
- Anonymous: 'Can Italy be Saved from Itself?', *Time.Com*, 5th June 1972, www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,905967,00.html, (Consulted 22/08/07)
- ¹⁶⁸ – Richardson: *Laugh a Defiance*, p170
- ¹⁶⁹ – Anonymous: 'Suffragette Outrage', p-
- ¹⁷⁰ – Millard, Rosie: 'Vandalised Art: The Price of Graffiti', *New Statesman*, 12th July 2004, p-
David Beckham by Mark Hom was defaced with an indelible pen on 29th June 2004. This incident is discussed in Chapter One.
- ¹⁷¹ – Anonymous: 'Suffragists and the King', p-
- ¹⁷² – Ernest Welch was treated in this manner after his assault on four paintings in the National Gallery on 23rd January 1913, but this is predated by responses to Carey Warbington, who attacked Bouguereau's *The Return of Spring* at the Lininger Gallery in Omaha on 15th December 1890. The press referred to Warbington as "crazy", "a crank" and a "putrid-souled lunatic". See:
 Anonymous: 'Entirely Too Modest', *The Collector*, Volume II, Number 5, 1st January 1891, p66
 Anonymous: 'May-Day Facts, and Fancies', *The Collector*, Volume VI, Number 13, 1st May 1895, p207
 Anonymous: 'My Note Book', *The Art Amateur*, Volume 24, Number 6, 1891, p140
- ¹⁷³ – Conklin: *Art Crime*, pp275-276

Chapter Three

Engaging with the Enemy: Responding to Iconoclasm through Access and Education

So far this discussion has approached iconoclasm in Western museums and galleries from an essentially retrospective angle. With the motives behind acts of iconoclasm analysed, and the historical trends of response to the problem identified, it is now time to look forward. Considering that the majority of responses outlined in the previous chapter have proved unhelpful in understanding, let alone preventing, destructive episodes, the following two chapters aim to highlight and evaluate some alternatives. Responsibility for implementing these proposals falls to museums and galleries. It is hoped that introducing cultural institutions to some potential solutions will enable them to take the initiative in curbing the phenomenon, and thereby garner the support of the authorities, press and public. The fourth chapter will look at how institutions can respond to iconoclasm through security, a self-evident course of action. Firstly, though, this chapter will focus on an approach which is largely unexplored in the prevention of attacks on art: the promotion of access and education.

Some clarification of terminology is necessary. The word ‘access’ is taken here to mean the extent to which members of the public feel that a gallery and its collections exist ‘for them’. It relates to how psychologically comfortable people are within the institution, and their degree of identification and involvement with the objects on view. Although the term ‘access’ is often associated with issues of physical engagement, this is only one aspect of the concept alongside opportunities for social, intellectual and emotional connections. The definition of the word ‘education’ is perhaps more obvious. It is understood to mean the gallery’s dissemination of information through a variety of media, and the visitors’ absorption of this knowledge. The phrase is not used in a restrictive academic sense that applies only to school children or students, but refers to informal learning experiences that are available to all. While this chapter will analyse access and educational schemes separately, reference will be made throughout to the ‘access and education approach’, or simply ‘access and education’. This expression denotes both concepts being utilised together as a comprehensive response strategy to iconoclasm. It functions as

an umbrella term for initiatives that operate by promoting access and education, as opposed to enhancing security.

In the early hours of 7th October 2007 five people broke into the Musée d'Orsay in Paris and proceeded on a drunken rampage through the displays. The group fled when they triggered alarms, but not before one intruder had punched a 10cm wide hole into *Le Pont d'Argenteuil*, an oil painting by Claude Monet (Plates 69 and 70).¹ After surveying the damage, the French Culture Minister Christine Albanel condemned the incident publicly as “an attack against our memory and our heritage”.² Albanel vowed to improve security in French museums, and to seek stronger sanctions against people who desecrate works of art. She reassured the media that she had raised the issue with the Justice Minister. There was no suggestion that the accessibility or educational provisions of the Musée d'Orsay would be reviewed as a consequence of the episode.

When faced with a deliberate assault on a work of art, galleries often concentrate on security. Pledges are made to reinforce protective weak points, assessments of existing measures are conducted, and new procedures and systems are implemented as immediate and quantifiable solutions. This type of combative reaction is frequently the most suitable, as it psychologically deters and physically prevents damage by future assailants. Nevertheless, iconoclasm is a diverse phenomenon, so is this appropriate in all situations? This chapter proposes that certain forms of art destruction are not prevented effectively by distancing and intimidating the public. Instead, they could be forestalled by adopting a three-strand approach based on improving access and education. Firstly, this entails encouraging the public to become involved with collections; which is a matter of access. Secondly, it entails enabling them to understand exhibits theoretically; which is an educational task. Thirdly, it entails helping them to appreciate the physical nature of artworks; which, again, calls for education. This chapter urges museums and galleries to resist engaging visitors combatively as enemies and, instead, engage with them inclusively as partners.

In recent decades some experts have advocated such ideas. Dario Gamboni emphasised the role of greater access and better education in reducing iconoclasm in an interview in 1987.³ Unfortunately, despite the abundance of visitor initiatives that have been developed since then, few have addressed attacks on art. The hypothesis that this would aid prevention remains largely untested.

With experimentation virtually non-existent, it is necessary to take cues from elsewhere. Examples of comparable work undertaken to stem property destruction in the wider community are investigated here, as are inclusion-orientated ventures run as general policy by cultural institutions. This chapter considers how such models could be applied to the specific problem of iconoclasm in museums and galleries, and conjectures upon the results. The methodology provides a theoretical springboard for targeted establishments. However, more definitive conclusions may only be drawn by organising pilot studies in the future.

As an additional caveat, it is important to identify the intended recipients of these proposals. The purpose of this chapter is not to suggest rehabilitation techniques for former culprits. Attempting to teach iconoclasts the error of their ways would be a fruitless drain on resources. Most appear to perpetrate one-off offences, and those who do embark upon serial attacks can rarely be dissuaded rationally from continuing their course.⁴ Moreover, introducing this sort of scheme is not within the jurisdiction of museums, but is the prerogative of the authorities.

David Freedberg indicates where a real difference can be made. He asserts that the circumstances which trigger iconoclastic behaviour do not just influence ‘criminal’ personalities, but, indeed, can reveal “the potential for such a lapse in ourselves”.⁵ Thus, the aim should be to prevent ordinary members of the public from becoming iconoclasts in the first place. This chapter puts forward initiatives that encourage people to engage with and understand art. The process could alter negative attitudes and preconceptions gradually. Potentially antagonistic situations might then be diffused and potential assailants might not resort to violence. If successful, the benefits of this endeavour would be significant. Not only would individual institutions reap better results in tackling iconoclastic crime, but the museum sector would take a promising step towards forestalling the very compulsion to harm works of art.

Considering these possible rewards, the fact that this avenue of response has been so little explored raises questions. Accordingly, it is worthwhile to establish the context to the approach and examine the arguments of its detractors.

In 1987 Dario Gamboni told John Dornberg in an interview for *Art News* that the actions of most museum directors were not helping to eradicate the root causes of iconoclasm.⁶ Ploughing resources into enhanced security, he explained, was only dealing with the symptoms of the issue. “What is needed instead, starting right in the

primary schools, is more information, education and enlightenment about art” he concluded. Incomprehension had to be overcome if iconoclasm was to be subdued. The idea that the degree of access and education afforded to the public should be pivotal in understanding and preventing iconoclasm seems logical in its directness. It seeks to address the problem at its origin. Yet Gamboni’s alternative perspective did not revolutionise the way in which cultural institutions confront attacks. While his view is endorsed privately by a range of museum professionals,⁷ theoretical advocacy is seldom translated into practice.

The reluctance of cultural institutions to commit to this stance can be attributed partly to the reception of similar projects aimed at curbing general property destruction. In the wider community such schemes are a well-established alternative to tightening up security. As early as 1968 Stanley Cohen described means of preventing property destruction based on understanding the primary causes of this behaviour.⁸ In 1979 Ann Blaber went further, claiming that changing public attitudes through community involvement and education was one of two main methods of resolving the problem.⁹

Supported by developing research, initiatives were implemented by national organisations and local authorities in Britain throughout the 1960s and 1970s. They were designed to combat a range of destructive practices from football hooliganism to graffiti in housing estates.¹⁰ Poster and leaflet campaigns, exhibitions, carnivals and public talks were all employed to stem public apathy and raise awareness. Some projects were successful. During the late 1960s British Rail sought to counter railway vandalism by publicising the inherent safety hazards. Execution of this programme saw a “clear reduction” in episodes during the next few years.¹¹

However, these initiatives also attracted criticism. One of the principal concerns was that successful results were only ever temporary. As Cohen remarked in relation to British Rail, their campaign demonstrated positive short-term outcomes, but its overall effectiveness was “difficult to assess”.¹² The suggestion that these projects offered no more than a transient impact owes much to the unwillingness of governing bodies to provide sufficiently enduring levels of support. Improving access and education is not a quick-fix solution; it is a gradual process that requires ongoing maintenance over the course of decades. Yet, in many cases, funding for initiatives waned as their novelty did. And it is almost impossible to evaluate long-term impact when schemes have been terminated and replaced.¹³ With a successive stream of

different strategies being introduced, it appeared that individual projects had minimal lasting benefit. The authorities' lack of dedication towards such enterprises was not necessarily indicative of their value, but it certainly tarnished their reputation.

Another perceived problem was the financial cost associated with access and educational programmes. If these are organised and sustained responsibly, they inevitably demand ongoing investment. Measuring such costs against those incurred by installing security systems is hardly a clear-cut calculation. However, the apparent prospect of a limitless pull on resources versus a one-off expenditure was enough to deter some authorities. In the mid 1970s an anti-vandalism committee run by Salford Metropolitan District Council was advised that community involvement schemes would prove more expensive than a security-based approach.¹⁴

Suspensions that these strategies actually aggravated destructive behaviour further discredited their worth. Educating people about property damage requires implicitly that information on the issue is well-disseminated. Some commentators feared that broadcasting this knowledge in the name of enlightenment would conversely spark a wave of imitative crimes. H.F. Wallis drew attention to a case in which an individual on a motorway bridge had dropped a rock onto oncoming traffic, striking a bus and subsequently killing a passenger. Wallis maintained that when news of the incident was circulated it prompted "a spate of stone-throwing from motorway bridges".¹⁵ Concerns that access and educational schemes fuelled this phenomenon remained purely speculative. The matter would have been particularly pertinent to museums and galleries though, where 'copycat' episodes of art mutilation are a palpable threat.¹⁶

The proliferation of projects directed against general property destruction in the 1960s and 1970s laid the foundations to the access and education approach. This phase also engendered a negative legacy. Not only were initiatives stigmatised as resulting in short-lived benefits and high costs, they were branded as potentially counterproductive. Even today, the wisdom of these methods is disputed in the wider community.¹⁷ The hesitancy of museums to start dealing with iconoclasm using similar tactics is, therefore, unsurprising. The perceived risks are difficult for institutions to ignore. With resources often already stretched, it is harder still for them to invest time and money in such uncharted territory. Whether the deep-seated reluctance to explore this avenue indicates residual scepticism or, simply, over-caution, it is a factor that cannot be ignored.

The limitations of the approach are equally unavoidable. Promoting visitor engagement and learning in galleries is not an effective response to every type of iconoclasm, and this is perhaps the greatest impediment to its implementation in cultural institutions. When interviewed in 2005, Derek Pullen, Head of Sculpture Conservation at the Tate, claimed that adopting this tack would have little impact in reducing iconoclastic offences.¹⁸ He added that museum professionals who hope to cut occurrences by enhancing interpretational materials “flatter themselves”.

Pullen’s outlook is bleak, but his understanding of iconoclasm is narrow. Iconoclasts driven by political or socio-political agenda, religious devotion, publicity-seeking, or the belief that they are acting artistically, will not normally be dissuaded by a museum’s efforts to engage and enlighten. Such assailants tend to be blinkered by their purpose. Those whose motives derive from mental illness can also be oblivious to this approach. However, as Chapter One has shown, some attacks are borne out of either incomprehension or misinterpretation of art. Under these circumstances, education is an invaluable tool. Moreover, the promotion of access and education is an ideal means of discouraging iconoclasts who strike because they are disengaged from the institution and its collections, or from the consequences of their own actions. These incidents are frequently explained with the unsatisfactory label ‘destruction for destruction’s sake’ and classed as unpreventable.

The potential of this response is often not considered because critics are too hasty to define iconoclasm. Associating the problem automatically with resolutely violent cases like the attacks on Velázquez’s *Rokeby Venus* or Duchamp’s *Fountain*, they regard non-security responses as irrelevant.¹⁹ But assaults of this kind are rare. It is ‘petty’ episodes of ‘minor’ damage which plague museums most regularly; acts carried out by opportunists who are influenced by the surrounding environment.²⁰ Bearing this profile in mind, the access and education approach no longer appears so peripheral. It may have a more limited sphere of influence than Gamboni intimates, but that sphere is not insignificant.

While there are many arguments against this strategy, none are robust enough to warrant its continued neglect. Access and education at least deserves more serious analysis. Before investigating the role of learning and understanding in this context, it seems sensible to start with the matter of access. If visitors do not find art approachable at the outset, they will not be able, let alone willing, to strengthen their comprehension of it.

Since the mid 1980s the museum sector has made increasing efforts to advance its social and educational relevance amid mounting competition for public interest and funding. The terms ‘access’ and ‘inclusion’ have become ubiquitous as institutions have sought to maximise the attraction and usage of collections. This emphasis on facilitating a connection between people and objects is not an entirely new direction. During the second half of the 19th century, the growth of municipal museums and art galleries in Britain was spurred on by philanthropic patrons who aspired to provide universal opportunity for self-improvement. By giving all men and women access to objects of history, beauty and skilled craftsmanship, it was envisaged that the population would be stimulated both intellectually and morally.²¹

Accessibility has now re-emerged at the heart of museum policy, albeit with a less didactic focus. The visiting public are no longer disparaged as “the idle and unwashed”, a hindrance to the work of curators.²² They are considered integral to the very existence of galleries. John Falk and Lynn Dierking articulate this attitudinal shift. To succeed in the 21st century, they insist, cultural institutions must become customer-orientated, and provide evidence that they are fulfilling their social contract.²³ Measures must be taken to ensure that everyone can achieve social, intellectual, emotional and physical access. In 1997 the newly elected Labour Government in Britain decreed that national museums and galleries should be “for the many, not just the few”.²⁴ Since then, progress in dismantling barriers to collections has not been as swift as many would have liked. However, full democratisation of the museum experience remains an enduring goal.²⁵

Yet what is the relationship between the trend towards developing access and efforts to prevent iconoclasm? A brief case study provides illumination. In 1999 the National Museum of Photography, Film and Television reopened in Bradford after a £16 million renovation.²⁶ Initially high visitor numbers indicated that the revamped museum was popular. Before long, though, groups of teenagers began congregating “rather menacingly” around the building’s entrance.²⁷ Circumstances worsened when some of these teenagers started destroying property and exhibits inside the museum. Staff chose to “tackle the problem head-on”. A consultation group was established to bring museum representatives into contact with local teenagers, and the ensuing discussions were revealing. While these young people were enthusiastic about the institution’s general subject area, it transpired that they could not identify with the collections. Accordingly, a series of workshops were held to familiarise teenagers

with the technology behind photography, film and television; bridging the divide between their personal interests and the objects on display. Within a year the situation was transformed. Six workshop attendees had begun working for the museum and another three were involved in affiliated production projects. Property destruction ceased completely.

This episode did not occur in an art gallery, and the damage did not concern artworks. Even so, the lessons learned can be transferred to the issue of iconoclasm. When the museum began treating these young people as partners rather than enemies, and included them proactively within the cultural environment, their impulse to damage property associated with the museum diminished. As the institution's relevance within the teenagers' lives was identified and nurtured, the building and collections became entities that they cared about. Making art more accessible could have a comparable effect.

Examples of iconoclasm where perpetrators admit to being motivated by the inaccessibility of exhibits are extremely rare. More often, feelings of exclusion and disengagement remain unarticulated, and are eclipsed superficially by more immediate emotional concerns, such as boredom or the desire to impress peers.

The mutilation of Monet's *Le Pont d'Argenteuil* at the Musée d'Orsay is a case in point. Examining accounts of this episode, it is difficult to discern a motive straight away. Media reports made much of the assailants' inebriation; the *Daily Mail* described them as "drunken louts".²⁸ This factor was not as singularly consequential as it appears. In their 2000 report, Anki Nordmarker, Torsten Norlander and Trevor Archer conclude that alcohol consumption alone has little impact on the propensity of people to attack artworks.²⁹ When individuals are exposed to the combined effects of alcohol intake and frustration, however, this research shows a "significant increase" in such behaviour.

These findings offer a compelling explanation for events at the Musée d'Orsay: the iconoclasts' inebriation was a smokescreen for another underlying motive. If the assailants were frustrated, it is likely that this anger was somehow related to the institution and its collections. The attack targeted an internationally renowned gallery and artist, and it occurred on '*Nuit Blanche*'.³⁰ Perhaps the group felt hostility towards the Musée d'Orsay as a symbol of authority, or resentment towards the acclaim bestowed on its displays. Either way, the initial decision to break into the intuition betrayed their lack of identification and positive engagement with it.

And with the catalyst of alcohol, this expression of frustrated alienation escalated into violence.³¹

More than a meaningless drunken escapade, this episode was, plausibly, the outcome of lingering discontent brought on by a perceived sense of exclusion. It is conceivable that the attack could have been avoided with greater provisions for public inclusion. Had the five intruders experienced a stronger connection to the gallery, a feeling of pride and belonging towards it, they probably would not have forced an entry in the first place.

Access is a multifaceted concept. Encouraging people to enter cultural institutions physically is not enough to reduce iconoclasm. Both groups of assailants identified in the above case studies had the confidence to cross the thresholds of their respective museums. Clearly, though, neither was engaged on an attitudinal level. The abolition of admission charges to national collections in 2001 was a substantial boon in the efforts of British museums and galleries to maximise their accessibility. In the seven months following this change, overall visitor numbers increased by 62%.³² However, as the Museums Association's Policy Officer, Helen Wilkinson, conceded in 2004, free entry alone could not render museums truly inclusive. "A lot of the problem", she explained, "is about addressing people's expectations".³³ Negative stereotypes and preconceptions bar the public psychologically from engaging with collections. For galleries troubled by iconoclasm, overcoming this obstacle is imperative.

Altering attitudes is no straightforward task. In 1991 Nick Merriman conducted research into public perceptions and visiting habits, which revealed that the "perceived irrelevance and exclusivity" of museums was a hindrance for many.³⁴ While the sector has done much to counter this image, the belief that museums are distant and elitist endures to an extent in popular culture, and continues to inform non-regular visitors.³⁵

Accusations of "irrelevance and exclusivity" afflict art galleries in particular. Merriman found that art collections are normally visited by a narrower cross-section of society than non-art museums, with visitors of better education and higher social class dominating audiences.³⁶ This is illustrated by the experiences of Tyne and Wear Museums Service. In 1999 the Director, David Fleming, reflected on a decade of audience diversification work. He commented that, although access principles had been applied evenly at all Tyne and Wear premises, progress in attracting people to

art galleries had been noticeably slow.³⁷ “This says much about deep-seated public perceptions of art and the way in which it is often presented”, he observed.

The impression that galleries are places where art should be appreciated silently from a distance, while guards monitor the visitor’s every move, may be outdated. Nonetheless, it is a resilient notion. It not only deters visits, but can colour the opinions and behaviour of people inside museums. This is not conducive to preventing iconoclasm. If visitors feel self-conscious and unwelcome, they will be unable to connect with items on display. As a consequence, some will feel little concern in harming works deliberately when the opportunity arises. In November 2003 someone surreptitiously drew a pencil moustache onto a portrait by Peter Lely in Valence House Museum in Dagenham.³⁸ The damage was bad enough, but local press fed the story to the national media, and the incident featured humorously on a popular television entertainment show.³⁹ This sequence of events is disturbing. It demonstrates a serious disregard for art on a personal level, which was effectively condoned and reinforced on a collective level. The fact that one viewer’s alienation struck a chord so readily with the wider population is significant. It underlines the need for anti-iconoclasm initiatives to address the issue of access.

Putting this resolution into action does not require a fundamental shift in museum policy. The most effective means of banishing negative stereotypes and facilitating the crucial link between people and objects is a practice that has been gathering momentum for some years: encouraging visitor participation.

Increasingly, the public expects leisure and learning pursuits to be participatory. As Timothy Ambrose and Crispin Paine assert, it is no longer enough “for museums to present collections and information in a passive way”.⁴⁰ To keep abreast of the current wave of interactivity, they must create opportunities for active involvement with displays; using physical and mental contact to enhance the experience of viewing alone. Within the last decade, interactive resources have become common in cultural institutions. From jigsaw puzzles to computer programmes, these facilities enable people to explore collections according to their own pace and learning preferences. They render the museum environment more psychologically familiar, putting visitors at ease and improving their receptiveness.

In the mid 1990s Wolverhampton Art Gallery commissioned sculptors to build three-dimensional sensory models of two of its paintings (Plate 71).⁴¹ Visitors were invited to handle and investigate these while viewing the original artworks. Although

conceived for visually impaired people, the models proved to be a success with all audiences. As interpretational aids, they stimulated interest physically.

Assuming that they are well devised and maintained, such participatory resources can establish and strengthen the bond between a person and a work of art. They seem to have a particular resonance with children and teenagers, who are frequently the perpetrators of alienation-borne iconoclasm. Through the project 'Maps and Skins', English Heritage recently developed a computer game to be used by teenagers visiting Belsay Hall in Northumberland. Long-term evaluation of the venture is not yet possible. However, its potential to initiate visitor engagement appears promising. "Museums and galleries are better and more interesting than I thought," remarked one 15-year-old participant.⁴²

The extent of public participation does not need to end here. Involving visitors and non-visitors in the creation of displays and exhibitions is now becoming recognised practice. When Manchester City Art Gallery was devising the Clore Interactive Gallery, a high profile feature of its refurbishment, it recruited two consultation panels of local children and carers. These panels were taken on tours of the developing gallery site and other nearby museums, and were encouraged to voice their comments to the project team. Their ideas were then fed back into the design process. By including the public at this early stage, Manchester City Art Gallery was able to ensure that its new facilities would be as user-friendly and relevant as possible, according to the needs of its target audience. As an additional gain, the families involved developed a vested interest in the completed product.⁴³

In 2000, Orleans House Gallery in Twickenham took participation one stage further with the scheme 'At Home with Art'. Planned to coincide with the hosting of Tate Britain's exhibition of the same name, this project collaborated with Hounslow Borough Council's pupil referral service to introduce disadvantaged young people to art and curatorship.⁴⁴ The project began with pupils visiting Tate Britain, the Design Museum and Orleans House, after which they took part in a series of design workshops led by the gallery's artist-in-residence (Plate 72). Pupils were given responsibility for installing the resulting artworks in their own exhibition 'Household Designs'. Although some dropped out during planning, those who remained found the experience rewarding. It boosted their self-confidence and made them more comfortable in the museum environment. 'At Home with Art' also promoted the gallery's accessibility to the broader community. Some parents said that, having

attended the exhibition preview to support their children, they would now be keen to return.⁴⁵

Such initiatives cultivate engagement with collections, but they also instil in participants a sense of ownership and pride. While the benefits of interactive resources like models or games can be transient, involving members of the public in the very creation and running of exhibitions allows a stronger relationship to be formed. This is a crucial step in reducing iconoclasm. If someone recognises their efforts as integral to the working museum, they will not want to harm its collections, and will not endorse such conduct in others. In the article ‘Campaigning against Vandalism’, Cohen highlights schemes in which children are designated as ‘tree wardens’ on new housing estates.⁴⁶ When the children are endowed with this responsibility they start to identify more directly with public property, and levels of deliberate destruction normally recede. The expansion of participatory projects in museums and galleries could have a similar impact.

Opening up the gallery experience in this way is not always a feasible option. Interactive displays can be expensive to install and maintain, while allowing the public to take a hand in formulating exhibitions is inevitably time-consuming.⁴⁷ If cultural institutions are thus inhibited, visitor feedback systems may take a prominent role in advancing accessibility.

In an ideal scenario, feedback mechanisms like comments books or suggestions boxes should be used in tandem with participatory schemes, acting as indicators by which a museum can measure its achievements. Yet, especially in smaller institutions, these provisions can be as close as the public gets to interaction. As a substitute, this is hardly adequate. Compared with active participation, the mere voicing of opinions is not an effective means of forging meaningful connections with objects on display. Neither has it much scope for outreach to non-traditional audiences. In terms of curbing iconoclasm, though, this approach has certain merits.

On an immediate level, feedback facilities can be sanctioned outlets for visitors who feel frustration or disappointment, emotions which may otherwise manifest through violence. If someone encounters an artwork that offends them, or is angered by an aspect of gallery service, the freedom to express these grievances in a comments book or suggestions box could be enough to diffuse the situation. This solution sounds facile, but it is well advocated. ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security advise that “a suggestion box channels opinions or

reactions to exhibitions on paper instead of on to objects or walls”.⁴⁸ Such amenities are particularly appealing because users can withhold their names. In 2005 an anonymous visitor spat surreptitiously at *Wedding Photos* by Pamela de Marris while it was on display at Indiana State Museum.⁴⁹ The damage was only identified some time later. Evidently, this attacker did not want to attract notice, but was offended by the subject matter of the work, which depicts a homosexual marriage. Had there been an alternative means of venting outrage anonymously, that was readily available yet authorised, physical violence might not have occurred. Writing down objections could have had a cathartic effect, and the iconoclastic impulse could have been diverted.

Soliciting audience feedback also has a more subtle value. Comments books invite visitors to volunteer suggestions for improvements. This helps staff to upgrade their services, but it also goes some way towards refuting ingrained stereotypes of museums being elitist and unyielding. The opportunity to share comments or raise concerns, on a range of topics from the size of labels to exhibition themes, demonstrates to the public that they can play a genuine part in shaping galleries. It makes people feel not only acknowledged, but involved, and can decrease alienation.

Needless to say, simply providing feedback systems will not necessarily reap these benefits. To maximise their effectiveness museums must promote their accessibility and ensure that users do not find facilities intimidating. As Michael Langston from Ulster Museum observes, supportive front-of-house staff are vital in this regard.⁵⁰ Rather than appearing too busy to accept feedback, staff ought to welcome any comment as valid, however hostile or seemingly trivial it may be. The positioning of feedback depositories around an institution is also important; if the only comments book is located beside a static security guard, visitors will be reluctant to use it. A plentiful supply of pencils and paper is another obvious but crucial factor in stimulating usage.⁵¹

Perhaps the most significant proviso to the success of these schemes is that institutions deal with comments responsibly. The purpose of feedback is not to pay lip-service to public opinion. Visitors will shun facilities if they suspect that their views will not be taken into account, and feelings of alienation may deepen. By contrast, when a museum implements discernable change as a result of visitor remarks, it is a clear signal to the public that their input is valued. Sometimes it is

either undesirable or impossible for institutions to act upon suggestions, but they should at least be recognised.

The handling of one such situation at the University of Manchester's Whitworth Art Gallery is exemplary. In the early 1990s the Whitworth was loaned *Sleeper IV*, a large "densely black" contemporary painting by Hughie O'Donoghue.⁵² Its exhibition sparked an unprecedented number of complaints from visitors, and even some staff, who objected to its perceived "ugliness". Sensing that the painting was becoming a source of contention, the Curator, Michael Simpson, instructed reception staff to summon him whenever a member of the public wished to comment on it face-to-face. It is unlikely any criticism would have prompted the removal of *Sleeper IV*. Nonetheless, the curator's technique prevented any loss of public confidence. By offering to meet with visitors, listen to their views and justify the painting's installation, Simpson reinforced the gallery's accountability, whilst diffusing animosity towards the work. As he later explained, "concern, even anger, often turned to interest – or at least a grudging resignation that the painting was not that outrageous".

This face-to-face initiative was highly effective, and there are various other ways of demonstrating that provision of a feedback system is not an empty gesture. Comments can be addressed in a personal letter, mentioned in media discourse or used to inform outreach schemes. Even attending to a suggestions box regularly, so that its contents do not appear neglected, can indicate that a gallery is an inclusive environment. Feedback facilities give the public a voice. Yet only when that voice is listened to does the accessibility of museums become tangible. And only then can people be deterred from striking out at institutions through their collections.

Thus far, this chapter has concentrated on the significance of the public feeling that they 'belong' when they visit a museum or gallery. It is equally important that audiences feel that collections 'belong'. A visitor who finds the art gallery an inclusive and engaging place may still become disillusioned by the items on display. As Chapter One has shown, attacks often occur when viewers experience uncontrollable outrage towards exhibits, either because they do not consider them to constitute art, or because thematic or representational aspects offend them. This is not meaningless behaviour. Again, identifying the roots of the problem and tailoring responses accordingly is more appropriate than denouncing assailants as enemies and tightening security measures automatically.

This type of assault usually stems from the viewer's lack of understanding. Having encountered an artwork that is hard to grasp theoretically, the individual fails to form an appreciation of it, and reacts with frustration or shock by mutilating it. In contrast to episodes of alienation-borne iconoclasm, this explanation is often made explicit. Assailants use phrases like: "this is not art", "this is a waste of money" or "this upsets me". Josef Kleer rationalised his protest on all three counts when he attacked Barnett Newman's *Who's Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue IV* in 1982.⁵³

The underlying issue is easy to overlook. While blame is placed squarely on the ignorance of the perpetrator, the educational responsibility of the targeted institution is disregarded. It may be unfair to claim that the victim is as culpable as the offender. But, then again, a lack of understanding occurs when the provision of education is inadequate.

Just as it is the duty of museums to ensure the accessibility of collections, it is their duty to equip people mentally for the visiting experience. Educating them on the theoretical and thematic concepts behind paintings, sculptures and installations is part of this process. A well-informed viewer has the potential to appreciate obscure, challenging or misleading artworks. Even when an artist has set out to shock, providing their work with an explanation and context will help audiences to determine the source of their intentions. Although this opportunity may not suspend disapproval, it will at least enable opinions to be formed on the basis of sound knowledge. And this could quell instinctive iconoclastic reactions. Galleries are not in the business of muting the impact of art, but preparing the public to deal with that impact is central to their very existence.

Appreciation of any work of art may be enhanced by increasing educational provisions. However, the need is greatest among modern, contemporary and avant-garde works. These groups feature most prevalently in attacks caused by a lack of understanding, not necessarily due to their complexity, but because they do not always meet visitors' expectations. Many people consider aesthetic beauty, historical significance, clear subject matter and skilled craftsmanship synonymous with art in its broadest sense.⁵⁴ Cutting-edge works tend to defy these traditional norms, and can make some viewers feel insecure. Their confusion will spread and anxieties grow if the intentions of the artist are not apparent, and hostility may ensue. To forestall this familiar pattern, institutions need to reassure visitors. They must go to extra lengths to explain, and even justify, avant-garde art.

Though desirable, it is unrealistic for every modern artwork in every gallery to be supported in this way. Educational resources have to be prioritised. Precedence may be determined by audiences; reactions to non-traditional art are notoriously problematic among conservative communities. Penelope Smith, Registrar of Collections at the Joslyn Art Museum in Omaha, backs up this point. For staff at the Joslyn, she says, the threat of visitor unease escalating into violence is “an anxiety that never goes away”.⁵⁵ Her institution seems an ideal candidate for intensive educational provisions. However, as the installation of *Sleeper IV* at the Whitworth Art Gallery has already illustrated, even a university museum with extensive modern collections can have difficulty introducing the public to certain works. Patrons of the Whitworth may have accepted art by Pablo Picasso, Ben Nicholson and Bridget Riley, but Hughie O’Donoghue’s painting proved a step too far.⁵⁶ A gallery’s context is worth bearing in mind, but it is best to assess artworks on an individual basis. The art at highest risk of prompting attack, and therefore in greatest need of educational support, normally falls into two categories: that with the potential to cause incomprehension, and that with the potential to cause misinterpretation.

Carl Andre’s *Equivalent VIII* exemplifies the former category. A floor arrangement of 120 firebricks, this sculpture appeared so starkly simplistic when it was first exhibited in the 1970s that many viewers found it theoretically impenetrable.⁵⁷ Tate Gallery representatives recognised the problem. In response to the media controversy that erupted in 1976, Sir Norman Reid conceded that some of the Tate’s purchases “will appear incomprehensible or even offensive to some visitors”.⁵⁸ Despite this admission, little was done to reassure the public. The Tate confirmed its satisfaction that *Equivalent VIII* was a work of art, but nothing was said to enhance visitors’ understanding of this verdict.⁵⁹ Consequently, the purported value of Andre’s sculpture was widely assumed to be arbitrary, and feelings of exclusion, inferiority and frustration went unchecked. Events might have developed differently had the Tate done more to educate and prepare its audiences for the acquisition. The work’s significance could have been related in terms of the Minimalist movement and the use of *objet trouvés* by the avant-garde. This “most notorious instance of public loathing”,⁶⁰ and the sculpture’s ultimate disfigurement, might have been averted.

Artworks open to misinterpretation are even more of a concern. On 29th November 1989 David Hammons’s billboard painting *How Ya Like Me Now?* was

installed in an African-American neighbourhood by the Washington Project for the Arts (WPA) (Plate 73). Minutes later it was attacked by a group of men wielding sledgehammers.⁶¹ The work was mutilated on account of its seemingly racist overtones; it was a large-scale portrait of a blond-haired, blue-eyed Jesse Jackson. In reality, Hammons's painting was a denouncement of racism, a comment on whether Jackson would have been elected were he white. But without adequate explanation of this meaning, *How Ya Like Me Now?* was misread and destroyed. Potentially ambiguous subject matter is an acute problem because once a false interpretation has been formed it can prove immutable. Accordingly, pre-emptive action is critical. If a gallery can anticipate artworks at risk, it stands a better chance of forestalling violence and preventing the legacies of works from being scarred permanently by misrepresentation. Had the WPA followed such a policy, reassured the local community and issued preparatory educational resources, *How Ya Like Me Now?* might not have suffered this fate.

It is rational to prioritise those artworks in foremost danger. However, this process should not be permitted to over-simplify the situation. Regardless of whether a gallery's collections are threatened by incomprehension or misinterpretation, the task of enhancing audience appreciation is arduous because the lack of understanding pervades society. In 1976 it was not only the assailant of *Equivalent VIII* who found the sculpture bewildering, nor was confusion restricted to people who witnessed it first-hand. When news of the controversy broke, dismay was voiced nationwide. MPs sought inquiries into gallery acquisitions and arts funding, and the Tate was inundated with tongue-in-cheek 'artistic' offerings from the public including paperclips, pieces of string and vacuum cleaners.⁶² Modern art continues to mystify many people. A marked lack of public concern was apparent when a canvas from *The Three Dialogues of Plato* by Cy Twombly was seriously damaged by a viewer kissing it on 19th July 2007 (Plate 74).⁶³ The critic Jonathan Jones noted the disparity between the treatment of Twombly's work and reactions to assaults on more traditional pieces. "Making your mark on a painting is criminal damage", he commented, "If she'd kissed a Leonardo and marked its ancient surface, no one would dispute this, but public opinion tends to see the funny side where modern art is concerned".⁶⁴ While these circumstances reflect the fact that Twombly is less famous than Leonardo, it still demonstrates society's chronic lack of understanding.

To make matters worse, galleries cannot always count contemporary artists as allies in promoting education. The attitudes of some artists perpetuate public bemusement. In 2001 Martin Creed's installation *Work 227: The Lights Going On and Off* became the most minimalist artwork ever to be awarded the Turner Prize. As soon as it was unveiled it began to arouse confusion and scepticism.⁶⁵ Yet Creed showed no inclination to allay public uncertainty. Asked at the award ceremony about the concept behind his installation, he stated simply: "I think people can make of it what they like. I don't think it is for me to explain it".⁶⁶ When the creators of art are as elusive as this, it is little wonder that galleries face an uphill struggle in boosting visitor comprehension.

From a practical perspective, a two-pronged approach is required to alleviate the situation. Some educational resources should be introduced within galleries, while others should be conceived as outreach ventures. This dual course of action could influence visitors positively, and initiate change simultaneously on a society-wide scale. It calls for both internal and external modes of interpretation.

According to David Martin, interpretation is "the process of using displays and associated information to convey messages about objects and the meanings which museums attach to them".⁶⁷ It is an expression with a less didactic, more user-orientated emphasis than education. As Martin's definition suggests, interpretation is normally associated with learning undertaken inside cultural institutions.

The most obvious forms of internal interpretation are textual. An introductory panel or object label will often be a visitor's first point of reference. Since many people enter museums without previous knowledge of their content, and as most will spend only a few minutes at each display, this initial encounter is important.⁶⁸ It ought to enable visitors to absorb the principal facts rapidly and shape an understanding of their surroundings. The quality of information provided and its intellectual pitch are critical in this respect.

The earliest public museums included object labels for identification only. When supplementary information was available, the language was esoteric.⁶⁹ This historical legacy continued to influence the usage and form of museum text until the 1970s and 1980s, when educational departments began to assume more authority in developing displays. The transition has had a positive impact on audiences. The 32% rise in visitor numbers at the National Portrait Gallery between 1999 and 2003 has been linked to the decision taken in the 1990s to put education at the heart of its

temporary exhibition programme.⁷⁰ In spite of such progress, though, some art galleries still feature text panels and labels that fail to enlighten.

There are two reasons for this. On one hand, some institutions continue to over-estimate the degree of background knowledge and reading ability that their visitors possess.⁷¹ The result is textual resources that are dense, impenetrable and exasperating to many readers. It is easy to imagine how this could add frustration to a viewer's lack of understanding, and so raise the likelihood of an iconoclastic outburst. On the other hand, some galleries provide minimal labelling deliberately on the principle that art should be allowed to speak for itself.⁷² Proponents of this notion believe that interpreting every aspect of an artwork detracts from its intrinsic impact, and so diminishes the visitor's experience. Judging by the number of cases where incomprehension has led to iconoclasm, this assumption is often erroneous.

In 1993 the Whitworth Art Gallery sought to avoid both extremes in the exhibition 'Plain Answers to Plain Questions'.⁷³ With its innovative approach to textual interpretation, this exhibition remains a valuable model in how to familiarise audiences with modern art. Each artwork's label took a distinctive question and answer format, with simple but relevant questions such as: "Why can't I make out what's happening in this picture when the title is so specific?". Answers were equally direct, but did not 'dumb down' the meanings of exhibits. Content was devised to communicate the artists' intentions, highlight links with other artists and encourage further study. As an additional learning aid, text panels were positioned lower on the walls than usual and font sizes were enlarged.⁷⁴

By providing enough contextual information to enhance comprehension, without lapsing into technicalities and jargon, the Whitworth presented its modern collections in a less intellectually intimidating light. On the whole, visitors' reactions were enthusiastic. Some felt patronised, like one couple who complained that "the labels were pandering to the public's prejudices".⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the majority left 'Plain Answers to Plain Questions' with a better theoretical understanding of the displays which, from the perspective of curbing iconoclasm, can only be a favourable outcome.

Internal modes of interpretation should not be limited to text on gallery walls. For many, this medium is not the most effective means of assimilating information, so providing alternatives is necessary. A spectrum of multimedia resources can be

employed to cater for visitors with different learning styles, from audio guides to pictorial graphics, from film footage to interactive activities.

The Discovery Gallery at the New Art Gallery Walsall is a pertinent example of an experimental approach to interpretation being used to stimulate understanding.⁷⁶ This permanent gallery, which opened in 2000, was designed to prepare visitors to appreciate contemporary art. Exhibits are not only accompanied by labels, but are supported by photographs, videos, flip-books and extensive interactive pursuits. For instance, a *Spin Painting* by Damien Hirst is explained through two jigsaw puzzles, a computer program and a film of the artist at work. This multi-layered technique was conceived to meet the educational needs of as many visitors as possible, and it is echoed by interpretational provisions throughout the rest of the building. The overall impression is one of a holistic learning environment.

When visitors are surrounded by interpretational aids, they have a better chance of understanding the artworks before them and, hopefully, should be less prone to resort to violence. During the 1960s and 1970s the most effective educational anti-vandalism campaigns were those that took a holistic stance.⁷⁷ Indeed, in 1996 Arnold Goldstein asserted that “potent *combinations* of interventions” are a more reliable deterrent to property destruction than singular initiatives.⁷⁸ Immersing visitors in a multi-faceted, multimedia interpretational experience is always going to be an expensive option. However, it may be a worthwhile response to iconoclasm.

Another advantageous resource based inside cultural institutions is the gallery staff.⁷⁹ Having attendants on hand could be the best method of introducing members of the public to avant-garde art, dispelling their incomprehension and avoiding any misinterpretation. Assuming that attendants are approachable, visitors tend to appreciate opportunities for person-to-person contact. People are more flexible interpreters than text panels or audio-visual presentations, and understanding is more likely to evolve from discussion. Front-of-house staff assume a central role here, but it can be beneficial to extend interpretational duties further. For ‘Plain Answers to Plain Questions’ the curator was available to talk over artworks with visitors. Many of them welcomed his presence.⁸⁰

Training is an integral part of such initiatives. Front-of-house staff may not possess the expertise of curators, but they should have a working knowledge of collections. An ill-informed attendant can be worse than an absent one. Allegedly,

the final prompt behind Josef Kleer's attack on *Who's Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue IV* in 1982 was provided by an attendant at Berlin's Nationalgalerie who could not explain the painting to him.⁸¹ It may be significant that among the documents Kleer placed at the scene of his crime was a note reading: "Whoever does not yet understand it must pay for it!"⁸² Had the attendant been more knowledgeable, he might have been able to justify the artwork's acquisition in terms other than its monetary value, and the assault might not have occurred.

In 1998 a report by the Museums & Galleries Commission alluded to the importance of staff being able to explain objects on view.⁸³ The report recommends that attendants be briefed on the content and context of displays before potentially controversial exhibitions open, to help them cope with visitor reactions. These measures ought not to be reserved only for 'high risk' scenarios. If galleries are truly committed to education, the employment of capable staff as interpreters should be the norm.

Sometimes an individual's lack of understanding will emerge and develop to iconoclastic proportions without them even setting foot inside the gallery. Both incomprehension and misinterpretation can be inflamed by media reports, ill-judged or ambiguous official statements, or simply public hearsay. All three elements contributed to Dennis Heiner's outrage towards *The Holy Virgin Mary* by Chris Ofili, which resulted in his attack on it on 16th December 1999 at 'Sensation: Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection'.⁸⁴ This act was undertaken in the misguided belief that the collage was blasphemous. Rudolph Giuliani's accusations that it represented "Catholic bashing" created a wave of hysteria that drove Heiner to strike.⁸⁵ Before the assault, neither Heiner nor Giuliani had ever seen *The Holy Virgin Mary* first-hand. In these situations no amount of internal interpretation will prevent destruction from being carried out. By the time the assailant has entered the building it will be too late for them to glean, let alone want, any understanding. Pre-emptive external forms of interpretation are the solution.

An efficient way of communicating the meaning of art to the outside world is by collaborating with the media. At least it guarantees an optimum audience. Public animosity towards cutting-edge exhibits is sometimes incited by newspapers, television and online commentaries. As Steven Dubin pointed out at the time, the rise of "sound-bite journalism" was a contributing factor in the 'Sensation' controversy, and, by implication, in the episode's iconoclastic outcome.⁸⁶ An artwork's thematic

complexities cannot be conveyed accurately by “careless, hazy or improvised verbal descriptions” he explained. Yet the relationship between cultural institutions and the media, indeed the connection between iconoclasm and the media, does not have to be like this. Galleries can employ newspaper articles or television programmes as interpretational mouthpieces. They can use them to engage with visitors and non-visitors alike, and thereby increase understanding across society.

If the Brooklyn Museum of Art had liaised with media agencies before trouble surfaced, providing them with a genuinely informative account of ‘Sensation’, the controversy might have been avoided. Giuliani might not have misinterpreted and decried the exhibition, and Heiner might not have turned to violence. As it was, press statements were issued after the storm had already broken, their tone betraying defensiveness. “We know the art in this exhibition is challenging and provocative”, admitted the Director, “We’re not forcing anyone to see this material”.⁸⁷ His statement did not quell the escalating situation. Furthermore, it missed the point that the art could have been rendered less “challenging” in the first place.

Although the way that museums deal with the media has improved over the last decade, relations still require work.⁸⁸ This is not necessarily the fault of galleries; in some cases time is the key. As Sarah Freeman says, building up “visibility and reputation” with the media is a long-term endeavour.⁸⁹ The same goes for establishing a relationship based on mutual trust. There are measures that galleries can take to advance their standing in this regard. The columnist Maev Kennedy advises that they be upfront and clear with reporters, particularly when there is a possibility of controversy breaking.⁹⁰ Journalists will appreciate such honesty and should be less likely to misrepresent issues and events. But while the media may be tamed, they cannot be controlled; journalists often have vested interests at heart.⁹¹ Rather than rely exclusively on newspapers, television and the internet to explain exhibits, galleries should organise their own interpretational outreach.

Printed literature is a versatile option. It can range from professionally designed catalogues to photocopied handouts, and provided that it is well promoted or distributed, it communicates with a broad audience. Once again, the emphasis must be on pre-emptive action. Literature should be made available before potentially problematic displays are unveiled, as this will allay uncertainties from the outset. When ‘The Friedrich Christian Flick Collection’ was installed at the Hamburger Bahnhof in Berlin in 2004, handouts featuring an interview with Flick were not

supplied until the exhibition's opening.⁹² The provision of this interpretational material appeared to be an afterthought, and it proved ineffectual in dissociating the art from Flick's inherited infamy.⁹³

In terms of content and readability, the principles mentioned in reference to text panels also apply to gallery literature. The readership will vary depending on the type of material devised. Yet the meanings of artworks should be clear whether a gallery produces a flyer or a guidebook. In the catalogue that supplemented the 1997 début of 'Sensation' at the Royal Academy, Norman Rosenthal expressed his hope that the exhibition would act "as a platform that will open a larger public's eyes to a scene in which all are welcome to participate".⁹⁴ The catalogue went on to explain some of the artists' contributions in a style that was hardly inclusive though. Tracey Emin's art, for example, was described as "a tautology: her art is her life, her history, and vice versa. It has meaning only insofar as Emin herself does".⁹⁵ With interpretation this obscure, it is unsurprising that some people found Emin's work incomprehensible.

Temporary exhibitions are not the only stimulus for printed materials; they may be produced as general introductions to avant-garde artists or movements. The relevance of these resources can be an issue. In the late 1990s Tate Liverpool devised an informative question and answer leaflet about modern art. Unfortunately, it only gave an overview of the subject and was not integrated with the Tate's collections or exhibitions.⁹⁶ Literature that explains art without referring to tangible examples denies the potential of this interpretive form from being fully realised. A leaflet that relates written content directly to an institution's displays will almost certainly improve understanding.

One final suggestion for outreach interpretation is the delivery of public lectures. In 1977 *Stone Field Sculpture* by Carl Andre was installed next to a church in Hartford, Connecticut (Plate 75). The appearance of this seemingly alien artwork prompted a public outcry that made national news.⁹⁷ However, after Andre gave a series of lectures on his art the climate was transformed, with *Stone Field Sculpture* attaining widespread acceptance and even popularity. To quote Albert Elsen, this episode reinforces the idea that pre-emptive education is "both prudent and wise" in forestalling public animosity towards avant-garde works.⁹⁸ It also suggests that talks are an effective interpretational tool.

When the Whitworth Art Gallery displayed 'Plain Answers to Plain Questions' it ran an associated lecture entitled 'Everything you wanted to know about modern art but were afraid to ask'.⁹⁹ It became the focal point of the exhibition. Audiences responded well to the lecture's direct style, and the gallery received and honoured requests for its repetition long after the show had closed. As with Carl Andre's lecture series, this talk softened much of the local population's cynicism towards modern art. The opportunity to ask questions and participate in discussion was presumably pivotal to this development.

Another point is worth noting. The enduring appeal of the Whitworth's lecture reveals that there is a public appetite for more information about avant-garde art. This is encouraging, not only for institutions that display such works, but for those seeking to curb iconoclasm. The number of people who can attend a lecture will necessarily be limited. But if this lecture is one of many internal and external components in a comprehensive interpretational campaign, visitors and non-visitors will be able to receive the educational provisions that they both require and wish for. Where attacks prompted by incomprehension or misinterpretation are concerned, the desire to learn may yet eclipse the desire to destroy.

To understand a work of art, it is important to be aware of its theoretical underpinning: its historical context, the artist's intentions, the themes that it represents. The appreciation of art should not stop here though. The physical element demands our attention equally. Indeed, without comprehending the physicality of a painting, sculpture or installation, one cannot claim truly to understand it at all. In the introduction to this chapter, three procedural strands to the access and education approach were identified. The second side to education concerns alerting people to the physical nature of exhibits.

Over the last few decades there have been several incidents in galleries where female members of the public have breached security barriers and kissed unglazed artworks. During a trip to the Museum of Modern Art, Oxford in mid November 1977 Ruth van Herpen was apprehended for kissing Jo Baer's painting *Untitled*. A similar event occurred at the National Gallery in London on 24th March 1997, when an anonymous woman planted a kiss on Monet's *Water-Lilies* (Plate 76). On 19th July 2007 the Collection Lambert in Avignon was also targeted, this time by a visitor named Sam Rindy who kissed a canvas from Cy Twombly's triptych *The Three*

Dialogues of Plato.¹⁰⁰ Each case had the same result: residual lipstick traces were left on the surface of the painting.

As far as assaults on artworks go, kissing them appears to be a relatively innocuous offence. This was certainly the opinion of these three assailants, who all characterised their actions as demonstrations of appreciation, or even love, for the works in question. However, the damage can be extensive. The lipstick stains that Twombly's pale canvas sustained were so severe that a curator told reporters: "There is very little chance we will be able to restore it".¹⁰¹

In the museum sector there is consensus that the greatest cost associated with iconoclasm is the work that conservators must subsequently undertake.¹⁰² It is unclear if the public realise the extent of this toll. Before kissing their respective paintings, it seems unlikely that the three aforementioned women considered the months of painstaking work, or the financial resources, that would be needed to reverse their expressions of affection. Even after her apprehension by guards, Sam Rindy remained apparently oblivious to the consequences of her gesture. She commented rather casually to the press that she now "found the painting even more beautiful".¹⁰³ Rindy's statement implies more than a lack of appreciation for conservation work. It betrays a complete absence of awareness that she had ruined Twombly's painting; an utter incomprehension about the physical nature of the piece. As one curator lamented, "she has no idea what she has done".¹⁰⁴

Analysis of all three 'kissing assaults' confirms a shared pattern. The perpetrators had independent motivations, but, ultimately, each was propelled by the mistaken belief that they were not doing any lasting harm. On the contrary, Ruth van Herpen felt that kissing *Untitled* would 'cheer up' what she perceived to be a "cold" work of art.¹⁰⁵

While these cases describe unusual events, they illustrate a pervasive problem. Insensitivity towards the physical composition of artworks and their appropriate treatment is widespread. It is quite common for gallery visitors to interfere with displays deliberately, either through bodily contact or using small instruments, without regard for the wreckage that they may cause. As the Head of Paintings Conservation at National Museums Liverpool points out, dirty fingerprints alone account for a substantial amount of destruction.¹⁰⁶ Those responsible are not intentionally malicious. They normally just wish to experience art at greater proximity, and, heedless of the consequences, allow their impulsive enthusiasm or

curiosity to take over.¹⁰⁷ The extent of the harm is often not apparent. Sometimes perpetrators will not even recognise that a change has occurred in the artwork's condition. This lack of awareness costs galleries dearly; one ill-judged intervention may be enough to disfigure an exhibit irreparably.¹⁰⁸ Essentially, someone who fails to perceive the physical nature of artworks can be as much an iconoclast as someone who slashes pictures with a knife.

The crux of the matter is not so much thoughtlessness as naivety, a distinction which exposes the root of the problem and its potential remedy. Visitors who damage art because they lack appreciation of its physical qualities should not be made scapegoats for their ignorance. Museums and galleries also have a charge to answer. As educators, they have a responsibility to explain this aspect of collections to audiences. When visitors are oblivious to the hazards of touching, it suggests that this duty is being performed inadequately. Once again, this is an opportunity for cultural institutions to treat members of the public as partners rather than enemies. What is required is not heightened security, but better education.

If galleries make visitors more aware of the vulnerability of artworks, the work of conservators, and the physical implications of interfering with exhibits, then the likelihood of harm occurring could be diminished. Presenting potential assailants with the consequences of their actions has been identified as a means of preventing property destruction in the wider community.¹⁰⁹ In the museum context, well-informed visitors would be more conscious of their behaviour towards art, and would be able to guide others appropriately. The compulsion to touch could be kept in check, and the suffering of galleries could be reduced.

A case study from 2006 indicates that this course of action might succeed. On 24th February a 12-year-old boy on a school trip to the Detroit Institute of Arts affixed a piece of chewing gum to Helen Frankenthaler's painting *The Bay*.¹¹⁰ Gallery staff soon noticed the gum and took the school group aside, whereupon the guilty child confessed. Suspecting that the boy had little comprehension of the ramifications of his act, staff did not chastise him, but instead drew attention to the damage that he had caused.¹¹¹ Afterwards, the boy expressed regret. This prompts the question: what would have happened had the material repercussions of tampering with art been explained to the group beforehand? Quite possibly, the boy would have been deterred and the incident avoided.

It could be argued that this solution only applies to unpremeditated iconoclasm. Determined attackers will not be swayed because inflicting harm is their purpose. However, there are case studies that contradict this logic. Sometimes individuals undertake planned assaults and feel remorse when the scale of their destruction is exposed. In April 1913 three women appeared in court having attacked thirteen pictures in Manchester City Art Gallery as a suffragette protest.¹¹² Although the women had intended to break the paintings' glazing, they had not foreseen that this would affect the actual artworks. On trial they were told that they had injured four of the canvases. Lilian Forrester expressed her regret at this news, while Evelyn Manesta said that she was "only too grieved".¹¹³ The perpetrators of more resolute offences can also experience remorse. Robert Cambridge, who fired a sawn-off shotgun at Leonardo's *Virgin and Child with St Anne and St John the Baptist* in 1987, was shocked by the extent of the cartoon's wreckage.¹¹⁴ In an interview four years later he claimed that he was "very sorry" for carrying out the attack, and was "very relieved when the drawing was restored".¹¹⁵

Debating over whether these artworks would have been spared had their assailants been more aware of their physical nature is speculative. Nevertheless, regret can be stirred in even the most committed iconoclasts. A mutilated artwork is a striking image, all the more profound to the person responsible for its condition. Enabling potential offenders to envisage the consequences of their interference could be enough to make them think twice and resist their initial motives. As such, educational resources which address physicality offer a compelling answer to both premeditated and unpremeditated crimes.

Translating theory into practice is another matter. To reap the full benefit of this approach, educational programmes should cover a number of themes. The vulnerability of artworks is of primary significance. If iconoclasm is to be stemmed at all levels it is imperative that people understand that even seemingly innocent touching can result in irreparable damage.

Many museums would assert that they already draw attention to the vulnerability of collections. Yet, how they go about this is critical. Neither warning signs reading 'Do not touch', nor cursory requests from attendants, have much educational merit. Without further explanation, such advice is simply a command that alienates visitors and reinforces their 'enemy' status. In fact, it may aggravate the situation by tempting disobedience. It is interesting to note that the boy who defaced

The Bay had been informed before his visit that the Detroit Institute of Arts prohibited food and drink inside its premises.¹¹⁶ He had also been told that touching the art was forbidden. The reasoning behind these instructions was not mentioned though, and the rules made no impact on the boy's conduct.

For warnings to be effective they have to be clarified in detail and reinforced with tangible illustrations. In the case of the Detroit Institute of Arts, the school group should have been taught what happens when food or drink comes into contact with unprotected displays. Food-based chemical residues and the harm that they cause should have been highlighted. Children tend to respond positively to this depth of explanation. When Manchester City Art Gallery consulted carer and child panels on the development of its children's gallery, many reported that they would appreciate rules like 'Do not touch' being accounted for more often.¹¹⁷

Improved signage and more knowledgeable attendants are steps in the right direction. Ultimately, though, galleries should aspire to use a range of educational tactics, so that they may communicate with the widest audience possible. The Edwin A. Ulrich Museum of Art, based at Wichita State University, used to have significant trouble with students interfering with outdoor sculpture displays.¹¹⁸ The sensitivity of these sculptures is not always obvious, and it was common for them to be climbed on or 'dressed' by passers-by. In an attempt to curb the damage that was being inflicted, the museum's registrar began writing articles for local newspapers and giving community talks, drawing attention to the sculptures' fragile state and the care required for their preservation. Incidents of interference subsequently dropped to a minimum.

There is little point in reiterating the pros and cons of organising press articles or public lectures; most means of conveying the vulnerability of artworks overlap with those used to explain the theory behind exhibits. However, some educational initiatives have a particular resonance in this field. The introduction of object handling sessions, for example, warrants its own discussion.

There can be few more effective ways of helping people to appreciate the vulnerability of art than to let them handle pieces. Given the opportunity to hold or feel an exhibit, most visitors will develop a natural understanding of its physical characteristics: its structure, its weight, its texture. They will begin to comprehend its compositional materials and physical limitations. Most importantly, such an encounter is likely to inform their behaviour on future visits to museums and galleries.

If viewers know from experience that artworks are not necessarily as robust as they look, they should be less inclined to interfere with them.

Exhibitions that incorporate object handling are not a new phenomenon. Since the late 1970s museums have experimented in this area, with projects at the Tate Gallery and the British Museum's 'Please Touch' exhibition leading the way.¹¹⁹ The practice of handling was first conceived to aid visually impaired people, and most modern-day programmes remain focussed on facilitating access as opposed to teaching about collections care. The majority of schemes are also preoccupied with using small sculptures. But there is little reason why their remit should not be expanded.¹²⁰ Groups of visitors could be encouraged to handle drawings or touch large-scale installations, while members of staff explain how the gallery maintains them.

Although some accidental damage will arise from object handling, safeguards minimise the risk. Training can be given to participants beforehand, gloves can be provided, and sessions can be supervised and subject to time limits.¹²¹ Some might advise that only robust or 'expendable' items should be exposed to touching, but this undermines the purpose of the exercise. Allowing members of the public to hold or feel genuinely fragile and valuable artworks is an implicitly trusting gesture that gives them responsibility. Object handling not only demonstrates that art is vulnerable, but shows that the public has a vital role to play in preservation.

Another theme for educational initiatives is the work of conservators. If people are taught about the laborious process of repairing damage they should be dissuaded from causing it.

Current public attitudes favour this approach. In 2000 Carol Davis recognised that there was growing interest in what goes on behind the scenes in museums, and in conservation work especially.¹²² This appetite for insight has shown no sign of abating. After Edvard Munch's stolen paintings *The Scream* and *Madonna* were recovered in August 2006, curiosity concerning their physical condition was so high that the Munch Museum put the works on special display before restoration work commenced (Plate 77).¹²³ Kept in climate-controlled cases, the torn and moisture-damaged paintings attracted 5,500 visitors between 27th September and 1st October 2006. Although repair work was then undertaken out of public sight, regular progress updates were posted online.

The museum sector has been responding to such demand for some years. The National Conservation Centre in Liverpool was founded over a decade ago, and exhibitions dedicated to restoration projects are no longer unusual events.¹²⁴ The veil is being lifted gradually from this aspect of museum work. Nevertheless, it is mainly specialist centres and large art galleries that address the subject of conservation through displays or outreach programmes. Smaller institutions infrequently tackle this theme, which is an unhelpful situation in terms of reducing iconoclasm. To increase awareness of conservation across society, as many institutions as possible should seek to raise its profile. And with public interest currently so pronounced it seems a fortuitous time to embark on this course.

The best way of teaching visitors about conservation is to have conservators working on open view within museums. As the Director of the Textile Conservation Centre at the University of Southampton commented in 2000, “the more the public understands what conservation is, the more they want to see it”.¹²⁵ Introducing such a facility would enable visitors to witness first-hand the time and effort that goes into preserving and repairing artworks. Appreciation would be enhanced further if opportunities were provided for interaction.

The activities of the National Conservation Centre are exemplary in this respect. During opening hours members of the public can watch demonstrations (Plate 78). In addition, ‘spotlight sessions’ are held several times a week, when a live video link-up is established between a conservator and an audience, with an interpreter on hand to relay questions. Groups are also taken on tours of the Centre’s non-public areas twice weekly.¹²⁶ In 2004 the National Galleries of Scotland adopted a comparable approach when the decision was taken to clean Benjamin West’s *Alexander III of Scotland Rescued from the Fury of the Stag by the Intrepidity of Colin Fitzgerald* (Plate 79). Since the painting was too large to be transported to the conservation department safely, work to remove the old discoloured varnish was carried out on full public view in the gallery. While the project required lengthy planning, this “unique opportunity” proved to be a success from both conservation and access perspectives.¹²⁷ The paintwork was restored to its original vibrancy and the process was opened up to a wide audience. Supported by information leaflets, text panels and a film running on loop, the initiative generated “overwhelming” interest among visitors.¹²⁸

It is unrealistic for many smaller venues to emulate the provisions of the Conservation Centre or the National Galleries of Scotland; only the largest museums have in-house conservation departments. These models can be a source of inspiration though. Galleries could develop relationships with local conservators, and invite them to give lectures or even set up temporary workshops on their premises. Where resources and space are particularly limited, installing a video that demonstrates conservation skills could be enough to alert visitors to the physical nature of artworks, and the practical repercussions of interfering with them. Provisions need not be extravagant to be influential.

Making visitors more aware of their actions is an important step in curbing iconoclasm. Educating them about the general vulnerability of art and the everyday labour of conservators is an unobtrusive way of doing this. A more forthright method is also conceivable. Cultural institutions could draw attention to specific acts of iconoclasm as tangible illustrations of what happens when people assault works of art. This would bring issues of vulnerability and conservation into sharp relief, and could have a profound impact on visitor conduct. Yet this proposal is contentious. ‘Copycat’ assaults spurred on by publicity are a genuine risk, and it could be argued that alerting the public to destructive episodes might exacerbate the problem. Thus far this chapter has advocated the promotion of access and education consistently as a means of stemming deliberate damage. The final test of this position is to decide whether galleries should be wholly transparent and educate people about iconoclasm itself.

While most museums are traditionally reluctant to tell the public about iconoclasm they have suffered, some buck this trend. On 15th June 1985 a young man entered the Hermitage and stabbed Rembrandt’s *Danaë* twice before dousing the painting with sulphuric acid (Plates 80 and 81). *Danaë* was removed from view immediately.¹²⁹ Initially, the Hermitage was obliged to keep quiet about the incident. Anxious that the ruined painting might become “a monument to barbarism”, the Soviet Government ordered that it be repaired swiftly and told officials to announce that it would soon be back on display.¹³⁰ Their edict was entirely unrealistic given the extent of paintwork destroyed by acid. The restoration process actually took twelve years to complete.¹³¹ However, by the time *Danaë* was finished the political climate had altered dramatically, and the Hermitage was free to discuss the case.

An 18-month exhibition entitled ‘*Danaë*: The Fate of Rembrandt’s Masterpiece’ revealed the mended painting in October 1997. It was supported by a lengthy publication on the subject of the artwork, the attack and the restoration.¹³² The world’s media were invited to report on the extraordinary repair and an official website was launched to mark the occasion. Even the manner in which *Danaë* was conserved was testament to this new orientation towards transparency and learning. Those sections of the image lost to the acid were not repainted, but were filled with a neutral tone. This prevented the integrity of the original work from being compromised and allowed viewers to see the extent of the damage.

The open stance that the Hermitage adopted was admirably progressive. In 2004 Tom Flynn called for more museums to address such thorny issues as iconoclasm in their displays and outreach work in order to assert their dynamism and relevancy. “Museums should grasp that nettle”, he concluded, “or settle into sepulchral stasis”.¹³³ Moreover, although the *Danaë* campaign was not undertaken ostensibly to stave off further attacks, it seemed to have some preventative impact. Since the painting’s re-display there have been no more serious assaults on items in the Hermitage. This could have as much to do with enhanced security as educational measures, but the fact that the gallery has suffered a series of thefts in recent years suggests otherwise.¹³⁴ It is possible that this initiative prompted people to consider their behaviour towards exhibits more carefully. Drawing attention to real episodes of iconoclasm through educational schemes could be a way for galleries to reduce rates of damage.

Then again, the comparable experience of another Rembrandt painting tells a different story. On 14th September 1975 the *Nightwatch* was slashed repeatedly by Wilhelm Arie de Rijk.¹³⁵ Prefiguring the Hermitage, the Rijksmuseum opted for a communicative stance, determining that it would be in the public interest to carry out the restoration in open view. A special workshop was constructed within the gallery, and visitors were able to watch the painting’s transformation through glass screens over the next eight months (Plate 82).¹³⁶ This facility brought the physicality of the *Nightwatch* to the fore, but the associated publicity made the injury more notorious. In 1990 the *Nightwatch* was assaulted again. An escaped psychiatric patient entered the Rijksmuseum on 6th April and sprayed the work with sulphuric acid.¹³⁷ This offence demonstrated a strong ‘copycat’ element.

If allowing information into the public domain increases the risk of ‘copycat’ assaults, actively drawing attention to attacks could be inviting trouble. Undoubtedly, educational ventures of this kind would heighten the infamy of crimes. Individuals previously unaware of an artwork’s disfigurement would be alerted to it, and those seeking an extreme means of attracting publicity could be given inspiration. As the example of the *Nightwatch* shows, this effect can be long-lasting. Fifteen years after the original attack, the painting remained an enticing target for ‘copycats’.

Some questions defy clear-cut answers. Since these two case studies have opposing outcomes, it is difficult to determine the value of teaching people about the deliberate mutilation of art. This conundrum will only be resolved through further study. In the meantime, however, it may be worthwhile to consider how each museum managed its project. While the Hermitage maintained a scholarly focus in its exhibition and publication, the Rijksmuseum allowed its scheme to descend into inadvertent sensationalism. Not only did it present one of the Netherlands’ most cherished artworks in a ravaged state, but the repaired picture was unveiled in a ceremony where medals were awarded to those who apprehended the culprit.¹³⁸ Spectacle was emphasised over learning. It is possible that the idea of enlightening the public about the attack was not so much at fault, as the indiscreet manner in which the Rijksmuseum applied this initiative.

Discussion of this issue has been brief, but it has hopefully afforded some insight into the complexities and uncertainties that abound in responding to iconoclasm through access and education. More research, both theoretical and practical, will have to be undertaken to clarify the full potential and inevitable limitations of this approach. To this end, museums and galleries must become more open-minded. If institutions targeted by iconoclasts are reluctant to pilot unexplored, novel and sometimes challenging modes of response, progress will be marginal. Indeed, if they maintain their deep-seated resistance towards the preventative capacity of access and education they will fall at the first hurdle.

This chapter has sought to provide encouragement for galleries to overcome their hesitancy. It has illustrated how access programmes with opportunities for participation and feedback can render institutions more inviting and their audiences more receptive. It has described how explanation of the theory behind modern, contemporary and avant-garde art can elicit understanding, interest and even enthusiasm. It has revealed how enabling visitors to experience the practical side of

museums, through object handling or conservation projects, can raise awareness of preservation. And, crucially, it has drawn the connections between the realisation of these three strands and the reduction of certain forms of iconoclasm.

When a painting, sculpture or installation is injured by a member of the public the most straightforward action a gallery can take is to enhance security. Sometimes it pays to look beyond the obvious. An assault motivated by alienation, confusion or lack of awareness is better dealt with by tackling the underlying root of the problem than its overt symptoms. Engagement is the key. The way that people think about art can be changed gradually if it can be shown that it is accessible, understandable, and that its preservation relies on public cooperation. Individuals who are included and enlightened will be less prone to feelings of indifference or animosity, and attacks guided by these principles will be less likely to reoccur. The distinction between this approach and resorting automatically to punitive security measures is marked. It is more constructive, and it calls for a long-term vision.

On a practical level, following this course is not as taxing as it might seem. The access and education approach does not require a u-turn in museum policy. It is synchronised with both current priorities in the sector and present trends in society. While museums have accessibility high on the agenda, there is a developing eagerness among the public to be more involved. Schemes that let gallery visitors contribute to displays, learn about avant-garde art and experience operations behind the scenes have all proved popular in recent years. The climate is favourable and many of the initiatives that underpin access and education are already common practice. All that is required is for these factors to be identified and directed towards the specific goal of reducing iconoclasm.

Lack of resources need not be a hindrance. This chapter has presented a range of ventures that can be introduced, from the high-cost and labour intensive to the inexpensive and easily applied. Allowing visitors to devise exhibitions is a strategy on a different scale to improving a text panel's readability, but each has its own value in dissuading people from causing damage. The access and education approach is not prescriptive in its methodology. Just as it is important that galleries choose techniques that compliment their individual experiences of iconoclasm, it is crucial that they pilot schemes that they can finance and staff. Over-ambitious plans can be counterproductive. An institution unable to sustain a project long enough to evaluate

it properly may find time and money wasted on inconclusive results. Commitment is the only resource that this approach demands.

There is little excuse for museums not to explore the promotion of access and education as a weapon against iconoclasm. It may not be a panacea for all forms of destruction, and it may not be a quick-fix solution, but it corresponds with the wider aims of the sector and can be embarked upon by any institution.

The proposals described here will not be palatable to some critics. Yet this approach represents essentially unexplored terrain in the fight against iconoclasm, and it should not be dismissed before it has been investigated. This chapter has tried to provide an impetus for galleries to start experimenting and evaluating; opening up the issue so that uncertainties can be dispelled and consensus reached. It is hoped that in the future facilitating access and education will be deemed as reasonable a response as strengthening security. The public will be seen as partners rather than enemies, and the concept of engaging with potential iconoclasts will develop meaning beyond the combative sense.

References

- ¹ – The group gained entry to the museum via a back door. For further details see:
 Almendros, Cecile: ‘Monet Painting Damaged During Orsay Break-In’, *The Independent*, 8th October 2007, p-
 Bremner, Charles: ‘Vandals Leave a Poor Impression on Monet as Gallery Doors Fail’, *The Times*, 9th October 2007, p-
 Kanter, James: ‘Vandal Punches Hole in a Monet in Paris’, *The New York Times*, 8th October 2007, p-
 Anonymous: ‘Five Held for Questioning over Attack on Monet Canvas’, *Reuters UK*, 10th October 2007,
<http://uk.reuters.com/article/entertainmentNews/idUKL0941142020071010>,
 (Consulted 11/10/07)
 Anonymous: ‘Gang Punches Hole in Monet Work’, *BBC News*, 7th October 2007,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/7033018.stm>, (Consulted 11/10/07)
 Anonymous: ‘Intruders Severely Damage Monet Painting’, *ABC News*, 8th October 2007, www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2007/10/08/2053200.htm, (Consulted 11/10/07)
- ² – All statements by Christine Albanel derive from:
 Kanter: ‘Vandal Punches Hole in a Monet in Paris’, p-
- ³ – Dornberg, John: ‘Art Vandals: Why Do They Do It?’, *Art News*, Volume 86, Number 3, March 1987, pp108-109
- ⁴ – It is highly unlikely, for example, that Hans-Joachim Böhlmann, the 1977 ‘North German acid thrower’, would have been dissuaded from mutilating paintings by a museum-led access and education programme. Böhlmann showed no remorse during his trial and, despite receiving a lengthy prison sentence, went on to damage another three works by Albrecht Dürer in Munich in April 1988.
 For details of the 1977 series of attacks see Chapter One.
 For details of the attacks perpetrated in 1988 see:
 Burmester, A., Koller, J., and Kawinski, H.: ‘The Munich Dürer Attack: The Removal of Sulphuric Acid and Acid Compounds by Use of a Conditioned Ion-Exchange Resin’, *Cleaning, Retouching and Coatings: Technology and Practice for Easel Paintings and Polychrome Sculpture*, eds. John S. Mills and Perry Smith, Preprints of the Contributions to the Brussels Congress, The International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, 3rd – 7th September 1990, London, 1990, pp177-183
 Dornberg, John: ‘Deliberate Malice’, *Art News*, Volume 87, Number 8, October 1988, pp63-65
 Gorvy, Brett: ‘Massacre of the Innocents’, *The Antique Collector*, Volume 64, Number 4, April 1993, p60
 McKim-Smith, Gridley: ‘The Rhetoric of Rape, the Language of Vandalism’, *Woman’s Art Journal*, Volume 23, Number 1, Spring-Summer 2002, p29
 Anonymous: ‘German Art Vandal Back in Custody’, *Artnet News*, 2nd August 2001, www.artnet.com/Magazine/news/artnetnews/artnetnews8-2-01.asp, (Consulted 11/06/07)
 Anonymous: ‘3 Durer Masterpieces Vandalised with Acid’, *The New York Times*, 22nd April 1988, p-
- ⁵ – Freedberg, David: *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, Chicago and London, 1989, p11
- ⁶ – Dornberg: ‘Art Vandals’, pp108-109
- ⁷ – In separate correspondences, both Michael Langston, Head of Visitor, Gallery and Security Services at Ulster Museum, and Mark Janzen, Registrar at the Edwin A.

-
- Ulrich Museum of Art, agree that keeping the public engaged and informed is crucial to minimising acts of deliberate damage. See:
 Correspondence with Michael Langston, Head of Visitor, Gallery and Security Services at Ulster Museum, Belfast, UK (Sent 04/11/05)
 Correspondence with Mark Janzen, Registrar / Collections Manager at Edwin A. Ulrich Museum of Art and Martin H. Bush Outdoor Sculpture Collection, Wichita State University, Wichita, USA (Sent 04/10/05)
- ⁸ – Cohen, Stanley: 'The Politics of Vandalism, The Nature of Vandalism, Can It Be Controlled?', *New Society*, Number 324, 12th December 1968, p877
- ⁹ – The other main method Blaber highlights is physical prevention. See:
 Blaber, Ann: 'The Cunningham Road Scheme', *Designing Against Vandalism*, ed. Jane Sykes, London, 1979, p30
- ¹⁰ – For further details of this trend and specific case studies see:
 Blaber: 'The Cunningham Road Scheme', pp30-42
 Cohen, Stanley: 'Campaigning Against Vandalism', *Vandalism*, ed. Colin Ward, London, 1973, pp245-253
 Cohen: 'The Politics of Vandalism', pp877-878
 Wallis, H. F.: 'The Roots and Fruits of Vandalism', *Municipal Review*, Volume 46, Number 549, September 1975, pp168-170
- ¹¹ – Cohen: 'Campaigning Against Vandalism', pp250-253
- ¹² – *Ibid.*, p253
- ¹³ – British Rail's educational anti-vandalism programme ran for a few years. However, many other access and educational schemes were only ever devised and supported on a short-term basis. For example, a 'Stop Vandalism Week' was held in Birmingham in 1966. See:
 Cohen: 'The Politics of Vandalism', p878
 As another example, Greater Manchester authorities launched an educational anti-vandalism campaign in 1975 that only lasted from April to May. See:
 Wallis: 'The Roots and Fruits of Vandalism', pp168-170
- ¹⁴ – Wallis: 'The Roots and Fruits of Vandalism', p169
- ¹⁵ – *Ibid.*, p168
- ¹⁶ – The 'copycat' motive behind iconoclasm is discussed in Chapter One. The possible role that access and educational initiatives play in this phenomenon is returned to at the end of this chapter.
- ¹⁷ – In 1994 a Home Office Police Research Group report cast some doubt over the value of educational schemes in tackling the destruction of public property. See:
 Barker, Mary and Bridgeman, Cressida: *Preventing Vandalism: What Works?*, Police Research Group Report, Crime Detection & Prevention Series Paper 56, London, 1994, pp7-8
 Even a Home Office report published in 2006, which is broadly encouraging of the access and education approach, urges caution in terms of the risk of glamorising destructive behaviour. See:
 The Home Office: 'Tackling Vandalism and Other Criminal Damage', January 2006, *The Home Office Website*,
www.crimereduction.homeoffice.gov.uk/vandalism01a.pdf, (Consulted 11/01/08), p3
- ¹⁸ – Telephone Interview with Derek Pullen, Head of Sculpture Conservation at Tate, London, UK (Conducted 17/11/05)
- ¹⁹ – For more detailed discussion of the assaults on Velázquez's *Rokeby Venus* and Duchamp's *Fountain* see Chapter One.
- ²⁰ – This trend is verified in:
 Cordess, Christopher and Turcan, Maja: 'Art Vandalism', *British Journal of Criminology*, Volume 33, Winter 1993, p97
 Gamboni, Dario: *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution*, London, 1997, pp191-192

-
- Museums and Galleries Security Group: *Security in Museums, Archives and Libraries: A Practical Guide*, Re:source: The Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries Report, London, 2003, p35
- Oddy, Andrew: 'Introduction', *The Art of the Conservator*, ed. Andrew Oddy, London, 1992, p27
- ²¹ – For further discussion on the growth and aims of museums and galleries in Victorian Britain see:
 Bennett, Tony: *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, London and New York, 1995, pp70-71
 Crook, J. Mordaunt: *The British Museum*, London, 1972, pp63-66
 Macleod, Dianne Sachko: 'Art Collecting and Victorian Middle-Class Taste', *Art History*, Volume 10, Number 3, September 1987, pp328-350
 Merriman, Nick: *Beyond the Glass Case: The Past, the Heritage and the Public in Britain*, Leicester, London and New York, 1991, pp85-86
 Waterfield, Giles: 'Palaces of Art', *Palaces of Art : Art Galleries in Britain 1790-1990*, ed. Giles Waterfield, Exhibition Catalogue: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 27th November 1991 – 1st March 1992; National Gallery of Scotland 12th March – 3rd May 1992, London, 1991, pp19-24
 Whitehead, Christopher: *The Public Art Museum in Nineteenth Century Britain: The Development of the National Gallery*, Aldershot and Burlington, 2005, pp59-60
- ²² – Crowds of visitors to the National Gallery were described in this way by Sir Robert Peel in 1850. It was believed that congregating visitors were partially to blame for the physical deterioration of the paintings. See:
 Whitehead: *The Public Art Museum*, p60
- ²³ – 'Creating Value: Thriving in the 21st Century', Lecture by John Falk and Lynn Dierking, Sea Grant Professors in Free-Choice Learning at Oregon State University, Museums Association Conference 2007 (Given in Glasgow, 23/10/07)
- ²⁴ – The Minister for the Arts, Mark Fisher, made this statement to the House of Commons in June 1997. See:
 Bailey, Stephen J., Falconer, Peter, Foley, Malcolm, McPherson, Gayle and Graham, Margaret: *To Charge or Not to Charge?*, Museums & Galleries Commission Report, London, November 1998, p15
- ²⁵ – For further reading on the trend towards developing access in museums and galleries, both in Britain and other Western countries, see:
 Davies, Maurice: 'Brave New World', *Museums Journal*, November 2007, p24
 Dodd, Jocelyn and Sandell, Richard: *Building Bridges: Guidance for Museums and Galleries on Developing New Audiences*, Museums & Galleries Commission Report, London, 1998
 Fleming, David: 'A Question of Perception', *Museums Journal*, April 1999, pp29-31
 Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean: 'Counting Visitors or Visitors Who Count?', *The Museum Time-Machine: Putting Cultures on Display*, ed. Robert Lumley, London and New York, 1988, pp213-232
 Merriman: *Beyond the Glass Case*, pp1-6
 Tortolero, Carlos: 'Do the Right Thing', *Museums Journal*, June 2003, pp20-21
- ²⁶ – The National Museum of Photography, Film and Television is now the National Media Museum. It was re-branded in November 2006.
- ²⁷ – All quotations concerning this case study derive from:
 Puttnam, David: 'Behind the Scenes at the Museum', *New Statesman*, 19th August 2002, p-
- ²⁸ – Allen, Peter: 'Monet Masterpiece Slashed by Drunks', *The Daily Mail*, 8th October 2007, p-
 The drunkenness of the assailants is also highlighted in:
 Almendros: 'Monet Painting Damaged During Orsay Break-In', p-

-
- Anonymous: 'Gang Punches Hole in Monet Work', <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/7033018.stm>
- Anonymous: 'Intruders Severely Damage Monet Painting', www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2007/10/08/2053200.htm
- ²⁹ – Nordmarker, Anki, Norlander, Torsten, and Archer, Terry: 'The Effects of Alcohol Intake and Induced Frustration upon Art Vandalism', *Social Behavior and Personality*, Volume 28, Number 1, January 2000, p15
- ³⁰ – 'Nuit Blanche' is a night-long festival of arts, music and culture that takes place annually, with thousands of people taking to the streets of Paris. The Musée d'Orsay was not involved in these festivities. See:
Anonymous: 'Five Held for Questioning over Attack on Monet Canvas', <http://uk.reuters.com/article/entertainmentNews/idUKL0941142020071010>
Anonymous: 'Intruders Severely Damage Monet Painting', www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2007/10/08/2053200.htm
- ³¹ – Statements made by the attackers to police suggest that the mutilation of the painting was not premeditated. See:
Anonymous: 'Five Held for Questioning over Attack on Monet Canvas', <http://uk.reuters.com/article/entertainmentNews/idUKL0941142020071010>
- ³² – Martin, Andy: *The Impact of Free Entry to Museums*, MORI Report, London, March 2003, p1
For further information on the introduction and abolition of admission charging in Britain's national collections see:
Bailey, Falconer, Foley, McPherson and Graham: *To Charge or Not to Charge?*
Dickenson, Victoria: 'The Economics of Museum Admission Charges', *Museum Management*, ed. Kevin Moore, London and New York, 1994, pp104-114
Education, Science and Arts Committee: *Should Museums Charge?: Some Case Studies (First Report)*, London, 1989
Heal, Sharon: 'You Don't Know What You've Got 'Till its Gone', *Museums Journal*, July 2007, p4
Hull, Lise: 'Wales and Scotland get Free Admission before England', *Museums Journal*, May 2001, p11
- ³³ – Quoted in:
Morris, Jane: 'Class Divides Visitors', *Museums Journal*, November 2004, p15
- ³⁴ – When asked to respond to the statement "Museums have nothing to do with our daily lives", 4% of survey participants strongly agreed and 21% agreed. When posed with the statement "They are too middle class", 3% strongly agreed and 13% agreed. See: Merriman: *Beyond the Glass Case*, p64
- ³⁵ – The importance of establishing good media relations to challenge the image of "old dusty institutions" is stressed in:
Freeman, Sarah: 'Causing a Promotion', *Museums Journal*, March 1997, p28
- ³⁶ – Merriman: *Beyond the Glass Case*, p82
- ³⁷ – Fleming: 'A Question of Perception', p31
- ³⁸ – The affected painting was *Sir Thomas Fanshawe*. This case study was brought to the author's attention by:
Correspondence with LeeAnne Westwood, Senior Museum Assistant at Valence House Museum, Dagenham, UK (Sent 13/09/05)
Correspondence with LeeAnne Westwood, Senior Museum Assistant at Valence House Museum, Dagenham, UK (Sent 23/01/08)
- ³⁹ – The episode featured on 'Friday Night with Jonathan Ross'.
- ⁴⁰ – Ambrose, Timothy and Paine, Crispin: *Museum Basics*, London and New York, 2003, p16
- ⁴¹ – Thomas, Pauline: 'Accessible Art', *Museum Practice*, Issue 5, Volume 2, Number 2, 1997, pp81-83

-
- ⁴² – Davies, Aaron: ‘Teen Spirited’, *Museums Journal*, November 2007, p34
 The positive impact that participatory museum initiatives can have on young people is discussed further in:
 Adams, Eileen: *START: Evaluation Report*, Walsall Museum and Art Gallery Report, London, August 1995
 Birkett, Dea: ‘MySpace Meets the Museum’, *Museums Journal*, September 2007, pp30-33
 Cox, Miranda, Digger, Jo and Franklin, Carl: ‘Art for the Very Young’, *Museum Practice*, Issue 1, Volume 1, March 1996, pp27-28
 Davies, Maurice: ‘Interactive Art Galleries’, *Museum Practice*, Issue 16, Volume 6, Number 1, 2001, pp25-33
 Heal, Sharon: ‘Teenage Fancub’, *Museums Journal*, June 2004, pp30-31
 Randall, John: ‘Art Galleries, Museums and the Under-Fives: The Pre-School Perspective’, *Children Should be Seen & Not Heard!: Is There a Place for Young Children in the Art Gallery?*, Conference Papers Given in Association with the ‘START’ Project, Walsall Museum and Art Gallery, 21st-22nd June 1995
- ⁴³ – Manchester City Art Gallery reopened in May 2002. For details of the development of the Clore Interactive Gallery see:
 Farmery, Kate: ‘If They Build it They Will Come’, *Museums Journal*, April 2001, pp37-39
- ⁴⁴ – For details of this project see:
 Tranter, Rachel: ‘At Home with Art’, *Museum Practice*, Issue 18, Volume 6, Number 3, 2001, pp17-20
 Anonymous: ‘At Home with Art – Evaluation Report’, 2001, *Orleans House Gallery Website*, www.richmond.gov.uk/at_home_with_art_evaluation_report.pdf, (Consulted 17/01/08)
- ⁴⁵ – Tranter: ‘At Home with Art’, p18
- ⁴⁶ – Cohen: ‘Campaigning against Vandalism’, p238
- ⁴⁷ – The demands associated with encouraging visitor participation are discussed in:
 Heal: ‘Teenage Fancub’, p31
- ⁴⁸ – ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and Protection: A Handbook for Cultural Heritage Institutions*, London and New York, 1993, p73
- ⁴⁹ – This case study was brought to the author’s attention by:
 Correspondence with Lorri Dunwoody, Registrar at Indiana State Museum and Historic Sites, USA (Sent 04/10/05)
- ⁵⁰ – Correspondence with Michael Langston, (Sent 04/11/05)
- ⁵¹ – While a supply of writing utensils will encourage visitors to use feedback facilities, making pencils available inside display areas is not advisable. Computer terminals are a safer alternative for institutions that want to include these provisions alongside collections.
- ⁵² – All quotations concerning this case study derive from:
 Simpson, Michael: ‘Plain Answers to Plain Questions’, *Museum Practice*, Issue 5, Volume 2, Number 2, 1997, p69
- ⁵³ – This case study is discussed in Chapter One.
- ⁵⁴ – The “lofty” expectations of gallery visitors towards art are discussed in:
 Falk, John H. and Dierking, Lynn D.: *The Museum Experience*, Washington DC, 1992, pp146-147
- ⁵⁵ – Correspondence with Penelope M. Smith, Registrar of Collections at Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, USA (Sent 14/10/05)
- ⁵⁶ – For details of the Whitworth’s modern and contemporary art holdings see:
 Simpson: ‘Plain Answers to Plain Questions’, p69
The Whitworth Art Gallery Website, www.whitworth.manchester.ac.uk/collection/modernart/, (Consulted 17/01/08)

-
- ⁵⁷ – The controversy surrounding *Equivalent VIII* and its resulting disfigurement are discussed in Chapter One.
- ⁵⁸ – This quotation was reported in the *Evening Standard* on 16th February 1976. It is reproduced in:
Nicolson, Benedict: 'T.1534. Untitled. 1966', *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume 118, Number 877, April 1976, p187
- ⁵⁹ – For public statements made by the Tate see:
Nicolson: 'T.1534. Untitled. 1966', pp187-188
Reid, Norman: 'Brick Sculpture at the Tate', *The Times*, 19th February 1976, p-
Anonymous: 'Tate Gallery Defends Purchase of Bricks', *The Times*, 17th February 1976, p-
- ⁶⁰ – MacDonald, Marianne: 'Works the Critics Knew They Didn't Like', *The Independent*, 31st October 1995, p-
- ⁶¹ – *How Ya Like Me Now?* was commissioned as part of an exhibition entitled 'The Blues Aesthetic: Black Culture and Modernism'. For details of this case study see:
Gamarekian, Barbara: 'Portrait of Jackson as White is Attacked', *The New York Times*, 1st December 1989, p-
Goss, Steven: 'A Partial Guide to the Tools of Art Vandalism', *Cabinet Magazine*, Issue 3, Summer 2001, www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/3/toolsofartvandalism.php, (Consulted 23/09/05)
Grigely, Joseph: *Textualterity: Art, Theory, and Textual Criticism*, Ann Arbor, 1995, pp78-79
Jones, Seitu: 'Public Art that Inspires, Public Art that Informs', *Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context, and Controversy*, eds. Harriet F. Senie and Sally Webster, Washington and London, 1998, p283
- ⁶² – The actions of Hugh Jenkins MP and Gwilym Roberts MP are referred to in:
Nicolson: 'T.1534. Untitled. 1966', p187
Anonymous: 'Tate Gallery Defends Purchase of Bricks', p-
The miscellaneous items offered to the Tate are mentioned in:
Overy, Paul: 'Tate Bricks Disfigured', *The Times*, 24th February 1976, p-
- ⁶³ – This incident, which occurred at the Collection Lambert in Avignon, is afforded further discussion later in this chapter.
- ⁶⁴ – Jones, Jonathan: 'Art is the Religion of the Modern World', *Guardian Unlimited: Arts Blog*, 25th July 2007, http://blogs.guardian.co.uk/art/2007/07/art_is_the_religion_of_the_mod.html, (Consulted 16/08/07)
- ⁶⁵ – The controversy surrounding *Work 227: The Lights Going On and Off* is discussed in Chapter One.
- ⁶⁶ – Quoted in:
Anonymous: 'Creed Lights up Turner Prize', *BBC News*, 10th December 2001, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/1698032.stm>, (Consulted 18/04/07)
- ⁶⁷ – Martin, David: 'Interpretation: Introduction', *Museum Practice*, Issue 5, Volume 2, Number 2, 1997, p36
- ⁶⁸ – For analysis of visitor behaviour patterns inside museums and galleries see:
Falk and Dierking: *The Museum Experience*, pp55-81
Scottish Museums Council: *Museums are for People*, Edinburgh, 1985, pp17-25
- ⁶⁹ – For further reading on early public museums and their interpretational resources see:
Crook: *The British Museum*, p63
Martin: 'Interpretation', p36
Merriman: *Beyond the Glass Case*, pp84-85
- ⁷⁰ – Davies, Maurice: 'Time to Get Professional', *Museums Journal*, February 2005, p23
- ⁷¹ – This was highlighted as an issue in:
Hooper-Greenhill: 'Counting Visitors or Visitors Who Count?', p229
It was determined to be an ongoing problem in:

-
- Dodd and Sandell: *Building Bridges*, p12
- ⁷² – Although the ‘Artworks’ gallery at the Lowry in Salford was founded on concepts of access and interactivity, when it opened in 2000 written explanations of the exhibits were kept purposefully to a minimum. Indeed, calls from visitors for more interpretational material were resisted strongly by the Galleries Director, who asserted that “explanation inhibits exploration”. See:
Davies: ‘Interactive Art Galleries’, p32-33
- ⁷³ – This exhibition was brought to the author’s attention by:
Simpson: ‘Plain Answers to Plain Questions’, pp69-71
Correspondence with Michael Simpson, Head of Galleries at The Lowry, Salford, UK (Sent 10/03/08)
- ⁷⁴ – For further discussion on how the readability of text panels can be maximised see:
Devenish, David C.: *Museum Display Labels*, London, 1997
Kentley, Eric and Negus, Dick: *Writing on the Wall: A Guide for Presenting Exhibition Text*, London, 1989
Longhenry, Susan: ‘Labels for Contemporary Art, Indianapolis Museum of Art’, *Museum Practice*, Issue 9, Volume 3, Number 3, November 1998, pp18-21
Serrell, Beverly: *Making Exhibit Labels: A Step-by-Step Guide*, Nashville, 1988
Stewart, Claire: ‘Labelling Survey’, *Museum Practice*, Issue 5, Volume 2, Number 2, 1997, pp66-68
Anonymous: ‘Display Text’, *Museum Practice*, Issue 5, Volume 2, Number 2, 1997, pp62-65
- ⁷⁵ – Simpson: ‘Plain Answers to Plain Questions’, p71
- ⁷⁶ – The Discovery Gallery is analysed further in:
Davies: ‘Interactive Art Galleries’, pp30-31
Anonymous: ‘Discover the New Art Gallery Walsall’, *BBC Website*, www.bbc.co.uk/blackcountry/culture/2003/01/the_new_art_gallery_walsall.shtml, (Consulted 17/01/08)
- ⁷⁷ – When British Rail ran their successful Anti-Vandalism Campaign in the 1960s, the intention was to saturate society with their message. Their educational techniques included delivering public lectures, developing outreach work in schools, publishing themed comic strips and showing promotional films. See:
Cohen: ‘Campaigning against Vandalism’, pp250-252
- ⁷⁸ – Goldstein, Arnold P.: *The Psychology of Vandalism*, New York and London, 1996, p73
- ⁷⁹ – The role of gallery staff in reducing instances of iconoclasm is explored more thoroughly in Chapter Four.
- ⁸⁰ – Simpson: ‘Plain Answers to Plain Questions’, p71
- ⁸¹ – Kleer made this assertion in a later interview with Peter Moritz Pickshauss. It is reproduced in:
Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p210
- ⁸² – Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p207
- ⁸³ – Dodd and Sandell: *Building Bridges*, p23
- ⁸⁴ – This case study is discussed in Chapter One.
- ⁸⁵ – Barrett, Terry: *Interpreting Art: Reflecting, Wondering, and Responding*, New York, 2003, p58
- ⁸⁶ – Dubin, Steven C.: ‘How ‘Sensation’ Became a Scandal’, *Art in America*, Volume 88, Number 1, January 2000, p55
The media has been responsible for stirring ill-feeling against artworks in a number of incidents. The following are a few examples:
In 1976 it was an article in the *Sunday Times* that first sparked hostility towards Carl Andre’s *Equivalent VIII*. See:
Nicolson: ‘T.1534. Untitled. 1966’, p187
Simpson, Colin: ‘The Tate Drops a Costly Brick’, *The Sunday Times*, 15th February 1976, p-

- In a comparable turn of events, newspaper articles with headlines such as ‘Would you pay £100,000 for this?’ prompted outrage when Roy Lichtenstein’s *In the Car* was purchased by the Scottish Gallery of Modern Art in 1980. See:
 Scottish Museums Council: *Museums are for People*, p78
 Radio, television and the press also played a significant role in summoning opposition to Barnett Newman’s *Voice of Fire* after the National Gallery of Canada announced its acquisition in 1990 for \$1.76 million. See:
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p211
 O’Brian, John: ‘Documents’, *Voices of Fire: Art, Rage, Power, and the State*, eds. Bruce Barber, Serge Guilbaut and John O’Brian, Toronto, Buffalo and London, 1996, pp28-29
 O’Brian, John: ‘Introduction: Bruising the Public Eye’, *Voices of Fire: Art, Rage, Power, and the State*, eds. Bruce Barber, Serge Guilbaut and John O’Brian, Toronto, Buffalo and London, 1996, pp3-21
- ⁸⁷ – Ellison, Michael: ‘New York Seeks to Ban Britart Sensation’, *The Guardian*, 24th September 1999, p-
- ⁸⁸ – See:
 Kennedy, Maev: ‘No Comment’, *Museum Practice*, Issue 22, Spring 2003, p39
 Freeman: ‘Causing a Promotion’, pp28-29
- ⁸⁹ – Freeman: ‘Causing a Promotion’, p29
- ⁹⁰ – Kennedy: ‘No Comment’, p39
 Further advice on dealing with the media is provided in:
 Ambrose and Paine: *Museum Basics*, pp119-121
 Braithwaite, Catherine: ‘Headline News: Working with Journalists’, *Museum Practice*, Issue 26, Summer 2004, pp44-47
 Freeman: ‘Causing a Promotion’, pp28-29
 Gibbins, Ashley: ‘Critical Times’, *Museum Practice*, Issue 22, Spring 2003, pp37-38
- ⁹¹ – Gibbins: ‘Critical Times’, p38
- ⁹² – Kimmelman, Michael: ‘History’s Long, Dark Shadow at Berlin Show’, *New York Times*, 27th September 2004, www.nytimes.com/2004/09/27/arts/design/27flic.html, (Consulted 27/09/04)
- ⁹³ – Two separate iconoclastic incidents befell this exhibition within months of it opening. The first, involving a woman who physically assaulted two works by Gordon Matta-Clark, is discussed in Chapter One. The second attack, which targeted a sculpture by Paul McCarthy, is mentioned in Chapter Two.
- ⁹⁴ – Rosenthal, Norman: ‘The Blood Must Continue to Flow’, *Sensation: Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection*, by Brooks Adams, Lisa Jardine, Martin Maloney, Norman Rosenthal and Richard Shone, Exhibition Catalogue: Royal Academy of Arts, 18th September – 28th December 1997, London, 1997, p11
- ⁹⁵ – Anonymous: ‘Tracey Emin’, *Sensation: Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection*, by Brooks Adams, Lisa Jardine, Martin Maloney, Norman Rosenthal and Richard Shone, Exhibition Catalogue: Royal Academy of Arts, 18th September – 28th December 1997, London, 1997, p196
- ⁹⁶ – This leaflet is mentioned in:
 Simpson: ‘Plain Answers to Plain Questions’, p71
- ⁹⁷ – For details see:
 Bourdon, David: ‘Carl Andre’, (1977), *About Carl Andre: Critical Texts Since 1965*, eds. Paula Feldman, Alistair Rider and Karsten Schubert, London, 2006, pp159-161
 Elsen, Albert: ‘What We Have Learned about Modern Public Sculpture: Ten Propositions’, *Art Journal*, Volume 48, Number 4, Winter 1989, p295
 Esterow, Milton: ‘The ‘Vasari’ Diary: Andre’s Square One’, (1977), *About Carl Andre: Critical Texts Since 1965*, eds. Paula Feldman, Alistair Rider and Karsten Schubert, London, 2006, pp162-164

-
- Rorimer, Anne: 'The Sculpture of Carl Andre', *The Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago*, Volume 72, Number 6, November-December 1978, p9
- ⁹⁸ – Elsen: 'What We Have Learned about Modern Public Sculpture', p295
- ⁹⁹ – Simpson: 'Plain Answers to Plain Questions', p69-71
- ¹⁰⁰ – It has not been possible to determine the exact date of the incident at the Museum of Modern Art, Oxford (now known as Modern Art Oxford). Steven Goss claims that it occurred on 23rd November. However, newspaper articles from 22nd November show that it must have happened earlier than this. The episode is discussed further in:
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p192
 Goss: 'A Partial Guide to the Tools of Art Vandalism',
www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/3/toolsofartvandalism.php
 Anonymous: 'Woman Kissed Painting', *The Times*, 22nd November 1977, p-
 Anonymous: 'Woman's Kiss Damages £10,000 Painting', *The Telegraph*, 22nd November 1977, p-
 The incident at the National Gallery is described in:
 Collings, Mike: 'Memorandum concerning Damage to 'Waterlilies' at the National Gallery on 24th March 1997', 24th March 1997, *National Gallery Archive*, Archive Office Dossier on Art Vandalism
 The incident at the Collection Lambert is discussed in:
 Allen, Peter: 'Art Lover Faces Fine for Kissing Painting', *News. Telegraph*, 23rd July 2007, www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2007/07/23/wart123.xml, (Consulted 16/08/07)
 Anonymous: 'Frenchwoman 'Raped' Artwork with Forbidden Kiss: Curator', *Yahoo! News*, 24th July 2007, <http://uk.news.yahoo.com/afp/20070724/ten-entertainment-france-us-c3b52a1.html>, (Consulted 29/07/07)
 Anonymous: 'Lipstick Traces', *Art Forum.Com*, 31st July 2007, <http://artforum.com/news/week=200731>, (Consulted 25/09/07)
 Anonymous: "'Passionate" Kiss Lands Art Lover in French Court', *Reuters UK*, 9th October 2007, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/oddlyEnoughNews/idUKL0912111620071009>, (Consulted 15/10/07)
 Anonymous: 'Woman Fined for Kissing Painting', *BBC News*, 16th November 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/7098707.stm>, (Consulted 19/12/07)
- ¹⁰¹ – Quoted in:
 Anonymous: 'Frenchwoman 'Raped' Artwork with Forbidden Kiss', <http://uk.news.yahoo.com/afp/20070724/ten-entertainment-france-us-c3b52a1.html>
 At the time of Rindy's trial, in October 2007, conservators had still not managed to remove the stains. See:
 Anonymous: 'Artwork Smoocher Tried in France', *BBC News*, 10th October 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/7037833.stm>, (Consulted 15/10/07)
- ¹⁰² – Correspondence with Nicola Christie, Head of Paintings Conservation at National Museums Liverpool, Liverpool, UK (Sent 16/11/05)
- ¹⁰³ – Quoted in:
 Anonymous: 'French Woman Leaves Lipstick Kiss on \$2M Artwork', *CBC News*, 23rd July 2007, www.cbc.ca/arts/artdesign/story/2007/07/23/kiss-twombly-france.html?ref=rss, (Consulted 16/08/07)
- ¹⁰⁴ – Quoted in:
 Anonymous: 'Frenchwoman 'Raped' Artwork with Forbidden Kiss', <http://uk.news.yahoo.com/afp/20070724/ten-entertainment-france-us-c3b52a1.html>
- ¹⁰⁵ – Anonymous: 'Woman's Kiss Damages £10,000 Painting', p-

-
- ¹⁰⁶ – Correspondence with Nicola Christie, (Sent 16/11/05)
- ¹⁰⁷ – This is verified by:
 Correspondence with Janet Tamblin, Keeper of Conservation at Plymouth City Museum & Art Gallery, Plymouth, UK (Sent 07/11/05)
 Correspondence with Tate Liverpool representative who wished to remain anonymous, (Sent 03/11/05)
- ¹⁰⁸ – Gamboni claims that even the most minor interventions, like touching or spitting, can ruin some modern works of art. See:
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p192
- ¹⁰⁹ – Barker and Bridgeman: *Preventing Vandalism*, pp8-9
- ¹¹⁰ – This incident is mentioned in Chapter One.
- ¹¹¹ – Anonymous: ‘Boy, 12, Gums up Pricey DIA Artwork’, *Detroit Free Press*, 28th February 2006, p-
- ¹¹² – See Chapter Two.
- ¹¹³ – Anonymous: ‘Art Gallery Outrage’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 12th April 1913, p-
- ¹¹⁴ – This incident is described in Chapter One.
- ¹¹⁵ – Quoted in:
 Boggan, Steve: ‘The Invisible Mending’, *The Independent on Sunday*, 17th November 1991, p-
- ¹¹⁶ – Anonymous: ‘Boy, 12, Gums up Pricey DIA Artwork’, p-
- ¹¹⁷ – Farmery: ‘If They Build it They Will Come’, p39
- ¹¹⁸ – This example was brought to the author’s attention by:
 Correspondence with Mark Janzen, (Sent 04/10/05)
- ¹¹⁹ – For details of these initiatives and further examples of object handling projects see:
 Alvarez, Andrew: ‘Please Touch: The Use of Tactile Learning in Art Exhibits’, Conference Paper Given at ‘From Content to Play: Family-Oriented Interactive Spaces in Art and History Museums’, J. Paul Getty Museum Symposium, 4th-5th June 2005, *J. Paul Getty Museum Website*,
 www.getty.edu/education/symposium/Alvarez.pdf, (Consulted 21/01/08)
 Coles, Peter: *Please Touch: An Evaluation of the British Museum Exhibition of Animal Sculpture*, Committee of Inquiry into the Arts and Disabled People Report, London, August 1984
 Digger, Jo: ‘Protection of Sculptures for Handling’, *Museum Practice*, Issue 3, Volume 1, 1996, pp20-21
 Hooper-Greenhill: ‘Counting Visitors or Visitors Who Count?’, p219
 Munday, Val: *Guidelines for Establishing, Managing and Using Handling Collections and Hands On Exhibits in Museums, Galleries and Children’s Centres*, Kids’ Clubs Network Report, February 2002, p6 and p39
- ¹²⁰ – The value of object handling sessions in communicating collections care to the public is suggested in:
 Proudlove, Cathy: ‘Handle with Care’, *Museums Journal*, March 2002, p18
- ¹²¹ – These measures are endorsed in:
 Munday: *Guidelines for Establishing, Managing and Using Handling Collections*, pp13-14
 Proudlove, Cathy: ‘Display and Access’, *Museum Practice*, Issue 18, Volume 6, Number 3, 2001, p47
- ¹²² – Davis, Carol: ‘A Public Display of Conservation’, *Museums Journal*, June 2000, p23
- ¹²³ – For information on the theft of Munch’s paintings, which took place on 22nd August 2004, and details on their recovery see:
 Boyes, Roger: ‘Norway Screams as Masterpiece is Stolen Again’, *The Times*, 23rd August 2004, p-
 Browne, Anthony: ‘Not a Whisper about Stolen Scream’, *The Times*, 2nd May 2006, p-

-
- Fouché, Gwladys and Bowcott, Owen: 'Tourists See Munch's *Scream* Stolen', *The Guardian*, 23rd August, 2004, p-
- Anonymous: 'Stolen Munch Paintings Found Safe', *BBC News*, 31st August 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/5303200.stm>, (Consulted 05/12/07)
- For details regarding the display of the damaged paintings and their restoration see: Kjerschow, Elsebet: 'The Conservation of *The Scream* and *Madonna*', *The Munch Museum Website*, June 2007, www.munch.museum.no/media/docs/21-06-2007-zrsSHqQXTpFjdkF.pdf, (Consulted 21/01/08)
- Walters, Tate: 'Oslo Museum to Show Recovered Munch Works', *United Press International*, 25th September 2006, www.upi.com/NewsTrack/view.php?StoryID=20060925-041535-4768r, (Consulted 06/10/06)
- Anonymous: 'Fans Flock to Munch Museum to see Damaged *Scream*, *Madonna*', *CBC News*, 2nd October 2006, www.cbc.ca/arts/story/2006/10/02/munch-museum-attendance.html?ref=rss, (Consulted 06/10/06)
- Anonymous: 'Munch's Masterpieces Back on Show', *BBC News*, 27th September 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/5382848.stm>, (Consulted 05/12/07)
- ¹²⁴ – For further reading on efforts to heighten the profile of conservation work see:
 Brinkman, Manus: 'Opinion', *Museum Practice*, Issue 22, Spring 2003, p11
 Davis: 'A Public Display of Conservation', pp23-25
 Anonymous: 'Case Study: Museum Store, National Museums of Scotland, West Granton', *Museum Practice*, Issue 1, Volume 1, March 1996, pp44-47
- ¹²⁵ – Quoted in:
 Davis: 'A Public Display of Conservation', p24
- ¹²⁶ – For further information on the National Conservation Centre's facilities and educational schemes see:
 Davis: 'A Public Display of Conservation', pp23-24
 Martin, David: 'Visitor Services Case Study: The Conservation Centre, National Museums & Galleries on Merseyside', *Museum Practice*, Issue 7, Volume 3, Number 1, March 1998, pp59-61
 Munday: *Guidelines for Establishing, Managing and Using Handling Collections*, p31
 Anonymous: 'A New Permanent Display at the National Conservation Centre', *National Museums Liverpool Website*, www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/about/capitalprojects/conservationcentre.asp, (Consulted 23/01/08)
- ¹²⁷ – Anonymous: 'Conservation Live', *National Galleries of Scotland Website*, www.nationalgalleries.org/research/project/7:263/445/, (Consulted 11/09/08)
- ¹²⁸ – Correspondence with Lesley Stevenson, Senior Conservator of Paintings at National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK (Sent 15/09/08)
- ¹²⁹ – For details see:
 Lewis, Tomos Dafydd: *Storytellers: When an Object is Damaged or Destroyed, Does its Restoration Enhance or Detract from its Role as an Object of Art and Object of History?*, Master of Arts (MA) Dissertation, School of Art History, University of St Andrews, UK, 2007, pp21-23
 Rosenbaum, Lee: 'Hermitage Unveils Damaged Danaë', *Art In America*, Volume 85, Number 10, October 1997, p33
 Russell, John: 'Healing a Disfigured Rembrandt's Wounds', *The New York Times*, 31st August 1997, p-

-
- Schama, Simon: 'The Naked Rembrandt', *The New Yorker*, Volume 75, Number 30, 11th October 1999, p60
- Sokolova, Irina: 'Rembrandt's *Danaë* in the Hermitage: A Curriculum Vitae', *Danaë: The Fate of Rembrandt's Masterpiece*, ed. Mikhail Piotrovsky, St Petersburg, 1997, pp137-139
- Anonymous: 'A Rembrandt Reported Slashed in Leningrad', *The New York Times*, 14th March 1986, p-
- ¹³⁰ – Aleshina, Tatyana: 'Some Problems Concerning the Restoration of Rembrandt's Painting *Danaë*', *Danaë: The Fate of Rembrandt's Masterpiece*, ed. Mikhail Piotrovsky, St Petersburg, 1997, p143
- ¹³¹ – The complex restoration project is described in detail in:
Aleshina: 'Some Problems Concerning the Restoration of Rembrandt's Painting *Danaë*', pp142-146
- ¹³² – Piotrovsky, Mikhail (ed.): *Danaë: The Fate of Rembrandt's Masterpiece*, St Petersburg, 1997
- ¹³³ – Flynn, Tom: 'Courting Controversy', *Museums Journal*, March 2004, p19
- ¹³⁴ – For details of recent thefts at the Hermitage see:
Anonymous: 'Art 'Stolen to Order' in Russia', *BBC News*, 25th April 2002, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/1950238.stm>, (Consulted 23/01/08)
Anonymous: 'Hermitage Hit by Mystery Thieves', *BBC News*, 1st August 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/5235148.stm>, (Consulted 23/01/08)
Anonymous: 'Hermitage Targeted for Theft, Again', *CBC News*, 8th December 2006, www.cbc.ca/news/story/2006/12/08/russia-hermitage-theft.html, (Consulted 23/01/08)
- ¹³⁵ – This case study is discussed in Chapter One.
- ¹³⁶ – See:
Freedberg, David: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, Maarssen, 1985, p25
Nicolson, Benedict: 'The Night Watch' Restored', *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume 118, Number 884, November 1976, p731
- ¹³⁷ – Fortunately, after the 1975 attack, a protective veneer of varnish had been applied to the surface of the painting. The 1990 attack only resulted in damage to the varnish layer. For details of this incident see:
Anonymous: 'Museum Visitor Damages a Rembrandt', *The New York Times*, 7th April 1990, p-
Anonymous: 'The Nightwatch', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, <http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/rembrandt.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)
Anonymous: 'Vandalized Rembrandt To Go Back on Display', *The New York Times*, 28th April 1990, p-
- ¹³⁸ – The ceremony in which the restored *Nightwatch* was unveiled took place on 3rd June 1976. See:
Nicolson: 'The Night Watch' Restored', p731

Chapter Four

“Glass-cased fortresses”: Responding to Iconoclasm through Security Enhancement

Throughout the history of iconoclasm in cultural institutions, certain galleries have fared worse than others. The Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam joined this contingent in the late 1990s, when it endured a spate of serious attacks. On 4th January 1997 Kasimir Malevich's *Suprematism 1920-1927 (White Cross on Grey)* had a green dollar symbol spray painted onto it.¹ Only months later, Barnett Newman's *Cathedra* was slashed across its width.² On 16th May 1999 a third assault occurred: the disfigurement of Picasso's *Femme Nue Devant le Jardin* (Plate 83). On this occasion a psychiatric patient, identified by authorities as simply 'Paul G.', entered the Stedelijk and waited until the painting was unattended by guards. When the opportunity arose he cut a ragged hole in the canvas using a blunt kitchen knife, and then fled the building.³ He was arrested at the offices of the newspaper *De Telegraaf*, where he had gone to assert responsibility. This was not his first iconoclastic foray; in 1990 'Paul G.' had targeted Rembrandt's *Nightwatch* in the Rijksmuseum.⁴ However, assaulting Picasso's painting caused far graver harm. In the aftermath of the offence, the Director of the Stedelijk, Rudi Fuchs, told the press that he would discuss protective arrangements with the government and other museums.⁵

Some forms of iconoclasm cannot be tackled through the promotion of access and education. Responding in this way assumes that perpetrators are capable of comprehending their conduct and its ramifications, and are potentially receptive to dissuasion. 'Paul G.' did not fit these criteria; he was mentally ill and determined to inflict damage. While his precise motives were never publicised, it is clear that therapy after the attack on the *Nightwatch* did little to curb his destructive impulses.⁶ So it is unlikely that gallery-led access or educational projects would have made a difference either. This approach is not just incompatible with iconoclasm prompted by mental illness; it has limitations in preventing attacks guided by political, socio-political, religious, publicity-seeking and artistic motives. Sometimes potential assailants need to be deterred more overtly from striking, or even prevented actively from doing so. Security enhancement provides the answer. It may not address the root causes of the phenomenon, but it deals with the results directly.

The purpose of security is threefold in relation to iconoclasm: to protect collections, to discourage perpetrators and to boost the chances of detection. These functions are served by a spectrum of measures that galleries can introduce or augment: admission arrangements, physical barriers, unobtrusive protection, alarm systems, CCTV, human invigilation and security policy. Each option covers further subdivisions. Physical barriers, for example, range from glazing to low-level partitions. Alarm systems extend from pressure-sensitive mats to ultrasonic sensors. The variety of choices can be perplexing. This chapter aims to clarify the situation by identifying the main methods of security enhancement and evaluating the competency of each in combating attacks.

Unlike the access and education approach, increasing security is a well-recognised and commonly practiced response to the mutilation of art. Accordingly, this chapter is more directly evidential than its predecessor. Though galleries are often reluctant to divulge details of their specific arrangements, the general usage and efficiency of different measures can be gauged through newspaper reports, security guides, archives and interviews.

However, finding the most effective means of improving security is not the only matter at hand. When Rudi Fuchs addressed the press following the assault on *Femme Nue Devant le Jardin*, he described the Stedelijk's predicament in terms of a "dilemma" facing museums worldwide.⁷ His concern was the principle of security enhancement as much as the logistics of it. By 1999 the Stedelijk was already well-versed in protective, deterrent and detective techniques. After Barnett Newman's *Who's Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue III* had been slashed in March 1986, attendants and barriers had been deployed to keep visitors eight feet away from the restored painting.⁸ Arrangements were stricter still when *Cathedra* and *Suprematism 1920-1927* returned to display. The former was relocated so that it was "visible only from a walkway behind a wall of Plexiglas".⁹ But with the disfigurement of *Femme Nue Devant le Jardin*, both museum staff and critics felt compelled to review the situation. Was it reasonable for the Stedelijk to keep increasing security every time an attack took place? As one journalist reflected, what else could be done now to safeguard collections "short of turning galleries into glass-cased fortresses"?¹⁰

In a climate where strengthening security is a standard reaction to iconoclasm, balancing protection with access will always be problematic. Events at the Stedelijk brought this to the fore, giving rise to Fuchs's "dilemma". The wider debate has not

died down in the intervening years. If anything it has escalated, and polarised opinions across the museum sector. For some, enhancing security is a rational means of defending cultural treasures for the benefit of future generations. For others, it is a process of fortification that can exclude and alienate the present-day public. Galleries affected by iconoclasm are caught in the middle of the argument.

Thus, this chapter has a dual purpose. While it is principally concerned with identifying those security schemes most effective in thwarting iconoclasts, it also considers their further impact. The effects that measures have on the visiting public will be discussed, as will the repercussions for the running of museums. By contextualising security in this way, it is hoped that a more holistic picture may emerge. The advisability of enhancing protection can then be weighed against its desirability, and a suitable course of response may be determined.

To provide a framework for this discourse it is necessary to explore the background to the conflict between security and access. The developing trend towards heightened security is a logical place to begin.

The ICOM handbook *Museum Security and Protection* describes safeguarding collections as “one of the primary public purposes of every cultural property institution”.¹¹ Society expects that items under the guardianship of curators will be maintained for posterity. As a result, the gallery is seen as the ultimate secure repository for art. This was the opinion of the Venetian authorities in 2004, when sculptures in churches and squares across the city were damaged in a succession of hammer assaults. Daniel Berger, a consultant for the Italian Ministry of Culture, suggested that some statues might be replaced with replicas so that the originals could be ensconced safely in museums.¹² Galleries seem to be endowed with a burden of responsibility heavier than that felt by other public display venues. If iconoclasts undermine their security it is not only artworks that are endangered, but public trust. One might reasonably assume that all galleries exercise stringent levels of protection in order to meet society’s expectations. Yet this estimation is misguided.¹³

During the last fifteen years the realities of gallery security have been laid bare by various criminal episodes. Although iconoclasm is a persistent problem, reports of thefts have gained a higher profile. In November 2001 Stéphane Breitwieser was arrested and called to account for a series of thefts that made worldwide news. Over six years he had stolen approximately 239 cultural items, including at least 60 paintings, from museums across Europe.¹⁴ While the scale of his activity was

shocking, its simplicity was worse still. In many instances, Breitwieser had cut paintings from their frames and walked out with them under his coat. By targeting smaller institutions with lax security, he repeatedly evaded apprehension.

Insufficient protection has not only been exposed around obscure artworks. In the early morning of 12th February 1994 a version of Edvard Munch's iconic painting *The Scream* was stolen from the National Gallery in Oslo. Thieves entered through a window and escaped within a minute, leaving a handwritten postcard that read: "Thanks for the poor security".¹⁵ The sense of national shame that this incident aroused intensified on 22nd August 2004, when another version of *The Scream* was taken from the Munch Museum. This time the crime occurred during open hours, and witnesses confirmed the ease of the operation. The artwork was not secured firmly to the wall and no alarms were triggered by its removal. According to one onlooker, it was just "tugged" from display.¹⁶

The exploits of the artist Banksy have also highlighted the shortcomings of museum defences. Between 2003 and 2005 Banksy added his own compositions inconspicuously to displays in several prominent institutions, including the Louvre and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Plate 84). His ploy was remarkably successful. When he installed *Crimewatch UK has Ruined the Countryside for All of Us* at Tate Britain in October 2003, nobody noticed the ruse until the glue on the reverse of his painting gave way and it fell to the ground.¹⁷ In New York the artist eluded security again by wearing a fake beard and asking accomplices to distract attendants while he hung his work.¹⁸ Banksy's intentions were subversive rather than criminal. Nevertheless, his enterprise exploited, and publicised, the same gaps in security open to iconoclasts.

These events have had consequences. With the public increasingly aware of chinks in the armour of galleries, and artworks increasingly at risk, institutions have been criticised. In 2004 the *Times* accused the Munch Museum's security of having "collapsed", a "profoundly embarrassing" situation considering the calibre of its collections.¹⁹ The loss of *The Scream* compromised the museum's mandate. It even suggested complacency. Public condemnation of security levels is hardly new. Following the theft of Leonardo's *Mona Lisa* from the Louvre on 21st August 1911, Guillaume Apollinaire complained in the newspaper *L'Intransigeant* that a "general air of indifference and carelessness reigns over these halls".²⁰ However, since the early 20th century, accountability to society has grown in significance as museums

have been driven to compete for funding with other public services. This has accentuated the sting of such criticism, and prompted a shift in priorities. It has become more important to be seen to act when security failings are revealed.

To counter the damaging slurs of critics many galleries have instigated policies of aggressive security enhancement. The Munch Museum has undergone a startling metamorphosis, with the introduction of X-ray machines, metal detectors and bullet-proof glazing (Plate 85). The media revised previous reproaches, dubbing it 'Fortress Munch'.²¹ Other institutions are following suit. After a massive theft of cultural artefacts, the Hermitage issued a statement on 6th August 2006 conceding that its security and working practices "do not meet modern demands, exploit modern technology, or take sufficient account of the human factor".²² A less explicit but comparable admission was made by French authorities on 7th October 2007 following another run of security violations.²³ In both cases officials promised a prompt rectification.

The recent spate of high profile breaches has had a galvanising effect. Yet this current trend cannot be attributed solely to wounded pride; there are other contributing factors. Since 2001 the threat of terrorism has roused many galleries to improve security arrangements. The Tate galleries adopted bag searches in the wake of the 2005 London bombings.²⁴ The Uffizi in Florence was even more proactive in its response, installing metal detectors and restricting visitor numbers to 780 at any one time.²⁵ Although these measures were extreme, the Uffizi had reason to be wary. On 27th May 1993 it had been the target of a Mafia car bomb. The blast caused structural damage, destroyed three artworks and damaged thirty-three others. More seriously, five people were killed and over twenty injured.²⁶ Terrorist attacks on cultural sites are devastating on many levels, and it is understandable that galleries should wish to minimise the risk.

There are also less topical reasons for increasing security, such as the standardisation of guidelines. In Britain the Government Indemnity Scheme (GIS) sets minimum requirements that national and non-national museums must meet to borrow and exhibit indemnified material.²⁷ Since its establishment in 1980 the GIS has directed loans between institutions, but it also informs everyday security policies. Its conditions make up the core of advice given in most publications. Similar initiatives operate elsewhere, for example the US Federal Indemnity Scheme or the Swedish Indemnity Scheme. Their specifications are not exceptionally strict.

However, schemes oblige galleries to attain a benchmark that is raised periodically, and this urges the achievement of ever-higher standards.

The trend described here is one of gradual progression rather than overnight transformation. Financial considerations delay its development. Defensive measures are often expensive to introduce, and it can be difficult to convince governing bodies of their cost-effectiveness if crime is not an immediate problem. As Nell Hoare explains, it is impossible to assess how many objects will *not* be stolen or damaged as a result of better security.²⁸ Maintaining and upgrading protective systems also requires ongoing expenditure. This prospect can cause some smaller institutions to postpone implementation. Yet, despite obstacles, advice is overwhelmingly in favour of investment. In 1986 Robert Burke and Sam Adeloyle pointed out that “it is far more economical to provide protection for collections than to attempt to recover collections”.²⁹ Their warning is particularly relevant to iconoclasm; hundreds of thousands of pounds can be spent restoring a single painting.³⁰ Even if allocated budgets are small, museums are encouraged to make security a funding priority. The 2005 article ‘Collection Protection’ reassures institutions that improvements can be made “on a shoestring”.³¹

The continuing drive towards stronger protection enables galleries to reassert their traditional public image as safe repositories for art. It allows them to fulfil their duty to both collections and future generations. But this is only half of the story. What about their duty to contemporary visitors?

Cultural institutions have been striving to establish a more visitor-orientated identity for some years. In 1988 Eilean Hooper-Greenhill wrote that “museums are becoming aware that they have disregarded their publics and the perceptions of their visitors for too long”.³² Sensing change, she predicted that they might increasingly “value, or even cherish, their visitors”. Her forecast was correct. The last two decades have witnessed a developing effort to draw people into galleries and democratise visiting. Existing audiences have been nurtured, while new ones have been encouraged. Resources have been ploughed into making exhibits more appealing and meaningful; improving interpretive provisions, but also rethinking methods of display. As Andrew Alvarez says, the aim is to “promote learning and understanding [...] by providing a closer and more direct experience”.³³

This reorientation is neither faddish nor fleeting. It harks back to the Victorian era when cultural institutions were founded for the philanthropic betterment of

society. Minus the moral overtones, the perceived function of the early 21st century art gallery is comparable to that of the late 19th century. Artworks are preserved in order to be viewed, so that they may educate, inspire, and, latterly, entertain. The visitor is integral. Without their input, collections would lack purpose.

Maximising accessibility has been a guiding principle for over a decade. However, the trend towards inclusion and participation is not supported by the trend towards greater security. On the contrary, stringent protection of art can sabotage engagement with it. High security has the capacity to detract from gallery visits in two ways: it can compromise the effectiveness of the viewing experience and it can elicit feelings of intimidation and discomfort.

In correspondence in 2005, the former Head of Conservation at the Tate observed that protective procedures are not always acceptable in terms of display.³⁴ Common sense confirms this. The closer that people can get to artworks physically, the more rewarding the experience of viewing should be. They will be able to comprehend compositions better, appreciate artists' techniques and enjoy the overall sensation more thoroughly. Devices designed to keep visitors at a distance curtail these benefits automatically. In most instances this is just an inconvenience, but sometimes inhibiting measures dominate exhibits, sidelining viewers' interests completely.

The *Mona Lisa* is a case in point (Plate 86). This painting has become increasingly difficult for the average visitor to study in detail or at length. The crowds that it attracts are partly to blame. Security arrangements are the source of the problem though. Over the course of the last century the Louvre has found it necessary to step up protection of the *Mona Lisa* repeatedly, and audiences have been distanced further and further away. In October 1907 the painting was glazed following an assault on Ingres's *The Sistine Chapel*.³⁵ It was then stolen in 1911, and upon recovery in December 1913, was re-displayed one metre behind a horizontal railing.³⁶ Defences were enhanced again after a man threw a stone at it on 30th December 1956. The attack broke the glazing and chipped the paintwork, and the *Mona Lisa* was enclosed thereafter in a laminated glass case.³⁷ In April 2005 the painting was re-hung on its own designated wall in a bid to reduce overcrowding and improve visibility.³⁸ Even so, it remains a spectacle that is not particularly enjoyable or illuminating. As Michael Kimmelman commented in 2007: "Every year it seems to

recede farther behind glass. Parked, as if in amber, where guards can move crowds swiftly past it, it seems hardly a real painting any longer”.³⁹

While visitors denied close proximity can find the value of the gallery experience diminished, at least they will not normally be deterred from returning. This cannot be said if security arouses feelings of anxiety and intimidation. An individual who has been made uncomfortable may not only be dissuaded from revisiting, but from entering other cultural institutions. With architecture often reminiscent of religious temples, palaces or law courts, museums can appear imposing enough to infrequent visitors.⁴⁰ Conspicuous security only amplifies the sense that these are forbidding premises. Under such circumstances, people can be discouraged. Even those who persevere may spend visits feeling self-conscious and harassed.

The Nationalgalerie in Berlin had this unwelcoming effect when it fortified its security in the early 1980s. Having been “traumatised” by Josef Kleer’s attack on *Who's Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue IV* on 13th April 1982, the gallery introduced airport-style checks.⁴¹ Entrants were met by a heavy guard presence and obliged to leave all belongings at the door. Inside, alarms prevented anyone from moving within eighteen inches of the art. In the words of Dario Gamboni, ordinary members of the public were made to feel “suspected of malevolent intentions”.⁴²

For some people, being surrounded by strict security is uncomfortable on an immediate, personal level. Others object ideologically to this situation because they believe it represents a negative society-wide shift. Mary Barker and Cressida Bridgeman identified the public’s fear of a “fortress society” developing in their 1994 assessment of anti-vandalism initiatives.⁴³ This concept refers to a dystopia where people are “surrounded by fences, barbed wire and guard dogs; where buildings are designed to be defended and to keep some in and others out”. Creating an environment of exclusion is not the intention of museums. But efforts to protect collections might be misconstrued; security enhancement does appear to violate the democratic ideal that museums aspire towards. Ignoring these concerns could have repercussions beyond reducing visits. Feelings of alienation and resentment might grow and find expression in iconoclastic behaviour. In this way, augmenting protection could prove counterproductive.

Achieving a balance between security and access is evidently crucial in preventing iconoclasm. This casts galleries in a challenging and ambiguous role. As Renata Rutledge asks: “How does one act as a gracious host to millions while also

maintaining the stance of an ever-alert ‘watchdog’?”.⁴⁴ Rutledge suggests that museums should seek “an appropriate mix of tact and firmness”; rational but hardly enlightening advice. Burke and Adeloye offer more concrete guidance, recommending that any security improvements are discussed among security, curatorial and design staff prior to implementation, and are altered or rejected as deemed necessary.⁴⁵ Education staff should also be involved. If a range of specialists with diverse priorities collaborate, the pros and cons of schemes can be considered objectively, and even-handed solutions can be reached.

Whether a true balance is achievable in practice is another debate, and one that will have to be resumed later. Weighing a museum’s duty of security against its duty of access provokes strong, often divergent, opinions. It could even be suggested that the two principles are fundamentally opposed. At this stage in the discussion it is difficult to envisage common ground, so a shift in perspective seems appropriate. The evaluation of individual methods of security enhancement is bound inherently to matters of protection and access. It may reveal specific pointers for anti-iconoclasm strategies and means of reconciling the wider conflict.

When one thinks about safeguarding art, measures that defend the perimeters of cultural institutions are usually first to come to mind. The Museums & Galleries Commission advises that protecting the shell of the building is essential to good security.⁴⁶ Indeed, it is routine for door and window reinforcement, intruder alarms and boundary walls or fences to be judged among the most important means of keeping collections safe.⁴⁷ This implies that galleries are at greatest risk when they are closed to the public. With fewer people in the vicinity, their sanctuary can be breached inconspicuously. Some cases of theft occur in these circumstances. When *The Scream* was stolen in 1994, the thieves maximised their chances of success by striking in the early morning, breaking and entering through an insecure window.⁴⁸ However, it has become increasingly common for thieves to operate by day, either removing small items discreetly or else threatening staff to gain larger exhibits.⁴⁹ And the mutilation of art is a very different crime altogether. It is extremely rare for iconoclasts to target closed museums, or for inadequate exterior protection to be pivotal in attacks occurring. Offences normally take place during open hours, when perpetrators have ready access to displays. Strengthening the physical shell is, therefore, an inappropriate response. Improving window locks or erecting high fencing will have little influence on rates of destruction. Such procedures have their

place in general museum security, but institutions troubled specifically by assaults are wise to look for answers elsewhere.

Visitors pose a far graver risk than intruders. Like any other member of the public, an iconoclast can enter an open museum on a whim, and may be able to progress to the exhibits unchallenged. Although direct access is the strength of public art galleries, it is also their weakness. This vulnerability need not be so acute though. The danger of potentially hazardous utensils being brought inside can be addressed by admission arrangements, the outermost layer of daytime defences.

At their most basic, admission arrangements are comprised of a member of staff who regulates entrants, turning away those acting aggressively or erratically. The majority of museums will have either a guard on the door or a receptionist at a desk who can perform this duty. However, accepting entrants on the basis of appearance relies on subjective judgement, which tends to be swayed by the emphasis on open access. It is usually only people displaying the most extreme behaviour who are denied admittance.⁵⁰ Iconoclasts whose demeanour is ostensibly calm may slip past unnoticed.⁵¹ To be more effective, admission arrangements should be enhanced, taking into account the items that visitors carry.

While it is obviously undesirable that individuals enter bearing guns, knives or bottles of acid, seemingly innocuous household items can be devastating in the wrong hands too. Scissors, pens, cosmetics and food are carried regularly in bags or pockets, and all have been employed to deface artworks in the past. Having fewer such items inside galleries might reduce rates of damage.

One way to achieve this goal is to provide cloakroom facilities at entrances. Introducing areas where visitors can leave coats, bags, umbrellas and pushchairs will diminish the number of extraneous belongings being carried amongst displays. In addition to strengthening security, this can improve the visiting experience. As Hoare explains, the public are more comfortable when relieved of encumbering bags and coats.⁵² One condition for success is that cloakrooms must be supervised and secure at all times; they will not be used if visitors are anxious about leaving their possessions. Provisions for valuables can be especially sensitive. Tate Liverpool is one of many institutions that issues transparent carrier bags so that items like wallets can be retained.⁵³ Cloakrooms are a popular choice because they do not impinge on accessibility, but how competent are these voluntary arrangements in preventing iconoclasm?

While they lower the risk of accidents, their impact on deliberate damage is less certain. Sometimes iconoclasm happens on the spur of the moment: a visitor is prompted to spoil an artwork and, finding a suitable utensil to hand, acts on this compulsion. Hugo Unzaga Villegas decided to assault the *Mona Lisa* in 1956 when he discovered a stone in his coat pocket that would serve as a missile.⁵⁴ Events could have unfolded differently had Villegas left his jacket in a cloakroom. Then again, spontaneity does not account for all iconoclastic episodes; many are pre-planned. In these scenarios, the availability of cloakrooms is not a remedy. Iconoclasts who are determined will not relinquish weapons willingly. Although it may be uncomfortable for museums, the threat of premeditated attacks calls for compulsory admission arrangements.

It is fairly common for large institutions to set conditions on entering visitors. A standard admission procedure might require people to leave outsized bags and coats in cloakrooms and submit hand luggage for searching. The Tate galleries have enforced such rules periodically, reasoning that it cuts the likelihood of terrorism, theft and iconoclasm.⁵⁵ Perhaps other galleries should follow their example. Compulsory bag searches are a significant aid in identifying and expelling utensils that would otherwise be carried inside. Attacks that could have been foiled by these measures are frustratingly plentiful. In September 2005 a visitor to the Kunsthhaus Bregenz in Austria mutilated Roy Lichtenstein's *Nude in Mirror* with a pocket knife. After the woman's arrest, police revealed that she had also been carrying a screwdriver and can of spray paint.⁵⁶ Had her handbag been searched in the first instance, her intentions would have become apparent, and her actions might have been avoided.

Support for compulsory bag searches varies across the museum sector. By its very nature this procedure is intrusive and can make visitors uneasy. It is often suggested that bag searching is reserved for "emergency conditions" only.⁵⁷ However, there are ways of minimising distress that would allow this practice to become routine. If entrants are treated sensitively, and the reasons for searches are clarified, it is possible to put them at ease. As a representative from Tate Liverpool asserts, the public normally respond well when the situation is explained.⁵⁸

Implementation can still be disagreeable on practical grounds. Checking every piece of hand luggage is extremely time-consuming for visitors and staff alike. Indeed, the busier the gallery, the more inconvenient the process. When the Uffizi

introduced compulsory bag searches in 2005, the operation caused such delays to entry that queues outside grew substantially (Plate 87). The newspaper *La Stampa* complained that visitors who had to wait in the heat for hours were too tired to enjoy the collections once inside.⁵⁹ Many gave up even before they reached the entrance. In this case, searches proved disruptive from logistical and publicity standpoints.

Another argument against bag searching concerns the effectiveness of the technique. Although a thorough examination of luggage will identify any potentially dangerous items contained within, determined iconoclasts can escape detection by concealing weapons on their persons. The suffragette Freda Graham exploited this oversight when she set out to damage five paintings in the National Gallery on 22nd May 1914. Despite close scrutiny of all objects being taken into the gallery, and an outright ban on bags, muffs, stoles, parcels, umbrellas and walking sticks after the mutilation of Velázquez's *Rokeby Venus*, Graham was still able to strike by smuggling a hammer inside her clothing.⁶⁰ Concealment is an enduring problem. On 17th July 1987 Robert Cambridge brought a sawn-off shotgun into the National Gallery by secreting it under his coat.⁶¹ This was not an isolated incident. Cambridge had carried the same concealed weapon around the National Gallery and the Tate Gallery on previous occasions, as he sought an opportunity to destroy a work of art.⁶² At the time neither institution ran a common policy of bag searching, but if they had, the gun would probably not have been exposed anyway.

Since bag searching is no match for human guile, one might conclude that X-ray machines and metal detectors are the solution. Requesting that visitors and their belongings pass through these devices is certainly the most reliable means of uncovering hazardous items and maintaining their distance from collections. Yet, this is neither a desirable nor realistic option for most galleries. It is virtually impossible to incorporate this technology into the everyday routine without incurring negative side-effects. Visitors may accommodate brief bag searches by sympathetic personnel, but they tend to feel harassed by more authoritarian and intrusive tactics. And museums can seem less accessible as a result. X-ray machines and metal detectors are also a drain on resources. As the National Security Adviser at the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) explains, they are expensive to purchase and service, and must be staffed constantly during open hours.⁶³ In many institutions this would not be tenable. The approach is not a cure-all either. Some iconoclasts inflict harm by punching, kicking or spitting. If X-ray and metal detecting facilities were

introduced universally, attacks with weapons might simply be overtaken by physical violence. The crime would not be curbed, so much as re-fashioned.

On the whole, admission arrangements still warrant further consideration. This aspect of security is often undervalued despite the key role it can play in preventing assaults. In 2005 the artist Banksy observed that museums have “got their eye a lot more on things leaving than things going in”.⁶⁴ Regulating access cuts against the grain for many galleries, and airport-style security is a step too far. Nonetheless, compulsory bag searches, carried out as sensitively, efficiently and thoroughly as possible, could redress this imbalance.

Thus far, the focus has been on keeping iconoclasts and their weaponry out of institutions. But even the most stringently enforced perimeters can be breached, and when this happens it is crucial that internal measures are in place to shield collections.

Those concerned with property destruction in the wider community refer to ‘target hardening’ as an effective means of protection. This process renders property more robust and less vulnerable to attack by altering its physical attributes. The wall of a building may be ‘target hardened’ by coating it with graffiti-resistant paint. The security of a window may be improved with the use of stronger glazing materials.⁶⁵ This method of tackling damage is direct to the point of being self-evident. To quote Barker and Bridgeman: “interfering with the vandals’ ability to vandalise is one of the more obvious approaches to the control of vandalism”.⁶⁶

‘Target hardening’ does not translate naturally to safeguarding art. Unlike walls or windows, artworks are unique irreplaceable items, and galleries are duty-bound to preserve them in their original form. When Damien Hirst’s *Away From the Flock* was damaged by a visitor in 1994, staff at the Serpentine Gallery might have been tempted to fit locks to the vitrine to stop others from tampering with it.⁶⁷ However, such modification would have compromised the appearance and integrity of the installation. Art’s intrinsic resistance to protection is a well-recognised problem. During the suffragettes’ iconoclastic campaign the Secretary of the Royal Academy quipped that artists in the future would have “to paint their pictures on armour-plate” to avoid destruction.⁶⁸ While art continues to be produced using vulnerable media, a variation on ‘target hardening’ will have to suffice.

The substitute is the introduction of physical barriers around works on display. Barriers perform one of two functions in an iconoclastic setting: either they defeat the assailant outright, preventing harm from being inflicted, or else they delay the attack,

buying time for staff to respond. Premeditated assaults can be countered by their use, as can damage caused by curiosity or opportunism.

Display cases are the principal form of physical barrier found in museums. When constructed with a metal frame, reinforced glazing and sound locks, they provide a secure environment for collections.⁶⁹ Encased plinths may be suitable for small art objects and sculptures, and desk-style cases befit drawings and prints that are too fragile to be hung. Munch's damaged canvases *The Scream* and *Madonna* were enclosed in this way when they were put on public view after their recovery in 2006.⁷⁰ Essentially, though, cases cater to institutions housing historical, cultural or scientific artefacts; their use is limited in most fine art collections. Sculptures and installations are frequently too large to be encased, and the majority of paintings, drawings and prints are meant to be exhibited on walls.

A more relevant type of barrier is glazing on wall-mounted works. This safeguard protects against various destructive practices, whether it is someone pressing a finger into impasto paintwork or someone throwing acid at an image. It is not unusual for museums hit by iconoclasm to implement glazing programmes across entire collections. Once the restoration of Rembrandt's *Danaë* was complete, the Hermitage began a two-year project to cover most of its works.⁷¹ Other institutions might glaze their art as standard procedure, without the prompt of a high profile assault. National Museum Wales, for example, covers all except outsized pieces.⁷²

Sometimes glazing is thought to be a panacea for iconoclasm. In March 1968 an unknown assailant used a sharp instrument to cut *A Young Woman Seated at a Virginal* by Jan Vermeer (Plate 88). Afterwards, a National Gallery spokesman remarked to the press that "this sort of thing will happen unless you put everything behind glass".⁷³ This assumption is false. Glazing art will not necessarily discourage the attentions of iconoclasts, nor will it always prevent damage from resulting. When William Bouguereau's *The Return of Spring (Le Printemps)* became a target of graffiti in the early 1960s, the Joslyn Art Museum had it glazed.⁷⁴ Despite this, the painting was assaulted again in 1976 by a man who hurled a bronze statue at it.⁷⁵ The glass cracked and the canvas was injured in six places (Plate 89). At least glazing usually spares artworks the brunt of any attack. *The Return of Spring* sustained less harm as a covered painting than it would have done unglazed.

In terms of damage reduction, the effectiveness of glazing depends on the materials employed. Ordinary float glass has little resistance to violent force and

shatters on impact, creating a hazard for both artworks and people. Most security experts recommend its avoidance.⁷⁶ Laminated glass is a better choice. Not only is it stronger, but on breakage it is designed to crack and remain intact, rather than splinter into shards. At present the weight of laminated glass can restrict its usage, but product improvements are ongoing.⁷⁷ Makes of acrylic glazing, such as Plexiglas, are a lightweight and resilient alternative, as was demonstrated by the bombing of the Uffizi in 1993. When the bomb detonated it blew out gallery windows, and unshielded artworks suffered severe damage. Rubens's *Henri IV at the Battle of Ivry* received a gash two feet long. Yet all of the nearby Caravaggio paintings were protected from flying debris by their Plexiglas panes.⁷⁸ Acrylic glazing offers comparably robust protection against most acts of iconoclasm. This solution is not problem-free. Acrylic sheet is prone to scratching, and cannot be used on charcoal or chalk works due to the static build-up it creates. Without expert lighting it can also produce a glare that obscures the art behind it. Low-reflecting variants are available, but they are very expensive.⁷⁹

Although steps can be taken to minimise side-effects, some people maintain that glazing art always compromises the viewing experience to an extent. Observers may feel emotionally or intellectually detached from exhibits. In extreme cases, their visual perception may be distorted. As Christopher Rüger, the Director of the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn, said in 1988, examining a painting behind glass can be like looking at it “in an aquarium”.⁸⁰ Rüger regretted the decision to cover his institution's most valuable works, but believed that it was necessary given the risk of damage.⁸¹ While glazing remains controversial today, many museum professionals faced with a direct iconoclastic threat would agree that the security benefits outweigh the cost to access.⁸²

This cannot be said of all types of physical barrier. Transparent screens are sometimes fitted or suspended in front of artworks that are unsuited to glazing because of their size or protruding elements. Historically, they have also been deployed when the likelihood of attack is deemed especially great. After the fifth raid by suffragettes in 1914, it was proposed that high plate-glass screens should be erected around every room of the National Gallery, separating the public from displays by four or five feet.⁸³ Although there were worries over the expense of this ambitious initiative, the National Gallery Board sanctioned the construction of a trial screen for the Rembrandt gallery.⁸⁴ Contemporary sources are vague about whether

this plan was ever executed. Nevertheless, the episode suggests that screens were envisaged to be more effective than glazing.

On several occasions transparent screens have proved their worth in thwarting assaults. In 1962 Leonardo's *Virgin and Child with St Anne and St John the Baptist* was spared serious injury when a visitor to the National Gallery threw an unopened bottle of ink at it. The pitched bottle bounced off the Perspex shield, cracking it but leaving the Cartoon largely unscathed.⁸⁵ The gallery must have had confidence in this mode of protection; a new double-thickness screen was commissioned for the Cartoon's re-display.⁸⁶

Equally, though, there have been instances where screens have failed to defend art. When the exhibition 'Sensation: Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection' travelled to the Brooklyn Museum of Art in 1999, Chris Ofili's *The Holy Virgin Mary* was presented behind a screen suspended from the ceiling. Charles Saatchi had objected to the idea of the collage being enclosed, so a sheet of Plexiglas was hung in front, leaving spaces on either side.⁸⁷ This concession to accessibility had repercussions. On 16th December 1999 Dennis Heiner found it easy to circumvent the screen and smear the work with paint.⁸⁸

This illustrates the fundamental problem with transparent screens. To be truly secure they have to enclose artworks totally, which, inevitably, will diminish access. Viewers can struggle to appreciate the fine details of works that are kept behind screens, and may have difficulty engaging fully. Moreover, the conspicuous distance that these fixtures impose between people and exhibits could provoke feelings of alienation. This measure has an impact on ordinary visitors. Whether screens are more secure than glazing is debatable, but it is indisputable that they are the more heavy-handed option.

Some galleries avoid all glazed barriers, preferring instead to use low-level horizontal partitions, like extendable cords or plastic bars, to keep iconoclasts at bay. These operate on an alternate premise to glazing or transparent screens. They maintain a clear space between visitors and artworks, as opposed to sealing collections off from harm. Visitors cannot study exhibits closely when low-level partitions are in place. Their view is more direct, though, in that it is not compromised by a layer of glass. A few years ago Plymouth City Museum & Art Gallery introduced partitions in front of some of its paintings after school children

began scratching the varnish on them.⁸⁹ Staff found that rates of damage fell, while the enjoyment of others was not marred significantly.

However, the degree of security that low-level partitions provide is questionable. The majority of visitors will respect the boundaries that they indicate, and not venture too close to protected displays. Iconoclasts driven by opportunism or curiosity, such as the Plymouth school children, can be included in this. The inability to reach a target at arms length is often enough to forestall casual damage. Determined attackers are another matter. They are neither discouraged nor inhibited by these measures. In 1981 the assailant of Bryan Organ's portrait *Lady Diana Spencer (Princess of Wales)* stepped boldly over a partition at the National Portrait Gallery and slashed the unglazed painting with a knife.⁹⁰ A higher barrier would have made little difference; the iconoclast could have ducked underneath instead. Confronted with such resolute violence, the limitations of this strategy become apparent.

Even so, partitions are common in museums because they establish "defined sterile areas" that assist invigilation.⁹¹ If a partition is set one metre in front of exhibits, attendants should be able to spot someone breaching the intervening space immediately.⁹² Staff can then take appropriate action. It is worth pointing out that this chain of events depends on the vigilance and speed of attendants. The presence of the partition itself is of secondary importance. Some might argue that partitions are valuable in their own right because 'sterile areas' show visitors where they ought to stand in relation to displays.⁹³ While this is true, it reaffirms the suspicion that partitions are psychological deterrents rather than preventative tools.

There are also several risks associated with the use of partitions. Most obviously, they can pose a safety hazard to visitors. If they are too low, made of transparent material or positioned inappropriately, people may trip over them.⁹⁴ They can endanger collections inadvertently. Unsupervised children sometimes treat partitions as toys, and playing around or climbing on them may lead to art being harmed.⁹⁵ The components of partitions can even be turned into weapons deliberately. On 3rd July 2002 Paul Kelleher employed a metal stanchion to disfigure Neil Simmons's statue *Margaret Thatcher* in the Guildhall Art Gallery.⁹⁶ Kelleher struck with a cricket bat first. When this had little effect, he unhooked a stanchion from the sculpture's rope barrier and used it instead. The head was knocked off.

Ironically, had *Margaret Thatcher* not been protected by a partition, its damage would have been less grave.

Though each type and sub-type of physical barrier has its own strengths and weaknesses, as a unified group they are a valuable asset to museum security. Unfortunately, one way or another, cases, glazing, screens and partitions are all obstacles to accessibility. Yet there is an alternative approach that does not conflict with this principle.

The problem with physical barriers is that they are obtrusive. Their presence is often conspicuous and, under certain circumstances, this can foster a sense of detachment or even alienation. If protective measures were incorporated into the overall design of a gallery, it is conceivable that visitors could be steered away from causing damage without being overtly conscious of the distancing process. Security would be improved, while the air of accessibility would be unaffected.⁹⁷ The notion of unobtrusive protection turns the conventional image of security enhancement on its head, but it is worth contemplating. It might enable institutions to fulfil their two-fold obligation.

This approach calls for less orthodox measures than the types of barrier already mentioned. Changes in floor level are one possibility. As Michael Belcher proposes, a raised or lowered platform around exhibits signifies the boundaries between display zones and public spaces in a subtle way.⁹⁸ The use of different floor coverings serves a comparable purpose, demarcating 'sterile areas' through texture or colour. While this sounds simplistic, Hoare indicates that most visitors will observe the perimeters denoted by floor designs subconsciously.⁹⁹ Accordingly, instances of accidental or casual proximity-related damage may be avoided. And with the majority adhering to set routes and areas, attendants should find it easier to spot individuals who stray.

Lighting is another understated means of encouraging viewers to maintain a safe distance. Spotlights imbedded in the floor can create psychological barriers either in front of hanging paintings or around freestanding art. In some situations, overhead lighting could also prompt visitors to keep back from displays. People can be reluctant to enter into an area that is more brightly lit than its surroundings.

Conventional forms of barrier are not entirely obsolete in this context. Some may be employed unobtrusively if they are granted a function aside from security. Railings, for example, can run through galleries as an aid for visitors with impaired

mobility. Used to encircle displays, these will cater primarily to public comfort, though their inherent security benefits will remain operative.¹⁰⁰ Railings can be employed similarly to display interpretational material like text panels, so that they exist as both educational props and protective devices.

The key to the success of this technique is consistency. As the Head of Sculpture Conservation at the Tate points out, the objective of unobtrusive protection is not to conceal measures completely, but to ensure that visitors' awareness of them is peripheral.¹⁰¹ If flooring designs, lighting schemes or safety rails are familiar elements throughout a museum, the public will get used to them as part of the general layout. They will slip into the background of the visiting experience. By contrast, if these arrangements are provided for only a few exhibits, they may draw visitors' attention and spoil the atmosphere of accessibility.

Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery in Glasgow is one institution that has experimented with unobtrusive protection recently. During its three-year redevelopment, the question of how to make viewing more intimate without putting collections at risk was of central significance. Kelvingrove's solution was revealed when it reopened in July 2006. Discreet security features such as raised platforms and spotlighting are reiterated throughout the galleries, allowing for open display while persuading visitors not to encroach upon exhibits.¹⁰² Since the redevelopment, this initiative has received some criticism. In July 2008 one visitor wrote to the *Burlington Magazine* claiming that the gallery's lack of assertive security was jeopardising the safety of the artworks. A bronze by Zadkine showed "signs of having been shoved around", he explained, and paintings by Ribera and Constable had been marked with fingerprints.¹⁰³ These comments followed similar accusations that had been aired in the November 2007 *Burlington* editorial.¹⁰⁴ In a responding article, Glasgow's Head of Arts and Museums, Mark O'Neill, neither confirmed nor denied specific cases of damage. However, O'Neill refuted allegations that the redisplay put works at greater risk and emphasised his belief in the importance of making art accessible.¹⁰⁵ For now, the effectiveness of Kelvingrove's experiment remains unclear, but this should be resolved in the coming years.¹⁰⁶

The obvious flaw with unobtrusive protection is that it constitutes a purely psychological deterrent. It cannot prevent someone from inflicting injury. Nevertheless, acting as a deterrent alone, there is evidence that it may be more effective than overt physical barriers. Experts on property destruction in the

community agree that conspicuous security highlights the vulnerability of protected items. This can cause people to behave more carefully, but it frequently stimulates the opposite response.¹⁰⁷ As Barker and Bridgeman explain, an individual may perceive from surrounding precautions that a fixture is fragile and valued, and conclude that destroying it would be a satisfying ‘challenge’.¹⁰⁸ This behavioural pattern could account for certain episodes of iconoclasm in museums. Sometimes art that has been harmed once, and then secured in a visible manner, is targeted again. Jacques-Louis David’s *Cupid and Psyche* was attacked several times during the early 1980s while the Cleveland Museum of Art installed increasingly conspicuous types of partition before it (Plate 90).¹⁰⁹ Normally it is assumed that subsequent attacks occur despite augmented defences. But what if they happen because of them?

Joseph Grigely’s comments on the treatment of Michelangelo’s *David* in the Galleria dell’ Accademia are relevant in this respect. Grigely claims that although the sculpture’s protective screen was erected to inhibit any repetition of the 1991 assault carried out by Piero Cannata, its presence does not draw a line under the event. On the contrary, the screen serves to “incorporate the violence of the past into the text of the present”.¹¹⁰ It alerts viewers to the status of *David* as an iconoclastic target and ensures that the episode is preserved in the public’s collective memory. If Grigely is correct, it could be asserted that the conspicuous security at the Accademia is counterproductive. By reminding people of the vulnerability of *David*, it offers a challenge to onlookers and an enduring inspiration to ‘copycats’. In effect, it places Michelangelo’s sculpture in greater peril.

This argument has repercussions for unobtrusive protection. Since discreet measures neither draw attention to the vulnerability of artworks, nor advertise any history of violence, they seem to have an advantage as iconoclastic deterrents. This is not to discredit physical barriers. It would be a gross over-reaction to spurn the use of screens or partitions out of fear that they might cause iconoclasm. However, the museum sector should entertain the possibility that they have a provocative quality. And with this in mind, unobtrusive alternatives should be given further recognition, not only as concessions to accessibility, but as disincentives to destruction in their own right.

Museum security is not restricted to devices that either protect art or deter attacks. There are also those designed to detect threatening situations. Alarm systems alert gallery attendants when somebody moves dangerously near to an artwork.

Visitors often stray accidentally or are unaware that close proximity is potentially hazardous. In these cases, the triggering of an alarm can warn them that their conduct is inappropriate, thereby averting unintentional damage. Alarms also detect situations where activity is more calculated, and here their contribution is crucial. An alarm gives attendants an early indication before an iconoclast strikes. Thus, assuming that staff react quickly, they may stop an attack from being executed or at least minimise the damage.

The value of alarms is best illustrated by a case study. On 14th June 1985 a student entered the Kunsthaus Zürich and set fire to a painting with a box of matches. There is scant documentation to explain how this feat was possible, but little of Rubens's *King Philip IV of Spain* survived except its frame.¹¹¹ The painting was not covered by an alarm. Apparently, guards were only alerted when smoke was seen coming from the room where it hung.¹¹² Staffing levels must have been low for the perpetrator to have lit a fire unnoticed. If the picture had been alarmed, though, the few attendants on duty would have been summoned sooner. They might not have been able to avoid the outbreak of fire, but they could have tackled it before smoke began wafting through the building. *King Philip IV of Spain* might even have been salvaged.

As well as diminishing the extent of injuries, alarms can prevent multiple artworks from being attacked. If an alarm sounds as one exhibit is approached, this will reduce the iconoclast's opportunity to target another before being apprehended.¹¹³ Over the last century there has been an apparent downturn in cases where multiple works are damaged sequentially by a single person. The increasing use of alarms could account for this.¹¹⁴

Alarm systems have four key elements: the sensor, the communications system, the annunciator and the human response.¹¹⁵ After a hazardous situation has been identified, it is critical that notification is relayed quickly and effectively. This can be achieved through local or remote means. A local annunciation instrument, such as a bell or siren, will sound at the site of the incident. A remote system will send a signal to either a central monitoring station or staff pagers. Local devices are of greater merit in forestalling iconoclasm. Audible sirens attract the immediate attention of employees in the close vicinity, who stand a better chance of responding swiftly than staff on the other side of the building. Local annunciators also inform perpetrators of their discovery, which can be sufficient in itself to curtail assaults.¹¹⁶

Yet the pivotal component of any alarm system is the human response. If nobody reacts to an alert, even the most advanced sensors and signalling equipment will be rendered useless. The iconoclast will be free to pursue destruction, and may be emboldened to re-offend in the future. This risk applies to all cultural institutions. In 2007 the Smithsonian was criticised by the US Government Accountability Office for failing to ensure that activated alarms were always investigated promptly.¹¹⁷ Instances were highlighted where “security alarms would ring, but guards would be unavailable to check on them”. It may not be coincidental that between 2005 and 2007 Smithsonian museums suffered thirty-five cases of deliberate damage, and rates of destruction rose in three premises. The presence of alarm systems can breed complacency. Staff sometimes assume that collections are automatically safer, and that alerts do not require urgent responses. Such an attitude may have been partially to blame for the Smithsonian’s predicament. To guarantee that human reactions remain a top priority, the true nature of alarms ought to be conveyed to attendants. They are not independent modes of protection, but, rather, “extensions of humans who are not physically present”.¹¹⁸

Apart from their reliance on human input, the main drawback with alarm systems is their susceptibility to false alerts. While these are often the result of simple mistakes, like incorrect installation or servicing, the repercussions are serious. A system that is set off accidentally on a regular basis will grow to be disregarded by staff. Ringing will not necessarily be ignored, but response times usually lengthen.¹¹⁹

Over-sensitive alarms also have a negative impact on visitors. The tranquillity of the viewing experience can be wrecked by frequent sirens, and the forbidding ‘museum-fortress’ stereotype can be reinforced. The same danger lies in excessively elaborate systems. During the early 1980s David’s *Cupid and Psyche* was targeted repeatedly by unknown assailants in the Cleveland Museum of Art. Since the canvas was too large for glazing, and various types of partition had proved ineffectual, it was decided that an alarm-activated network of precautions should be installed.¹²⁰ Under this scheme, any nearby movement triggered an automated audio request for people to “step away from the painting!”. A security camera was activated simultaneously, while a Polaroid camera began issuing photographs of the scene from overhead. The set-up decreased assaults on *Cupid and Psyche*, but it intimidated many visitors and was eventually removed. Fortunately, such extreme measures are unusual. The MLA

National Security Adviser says that galleries prefer arrangements that are discreet as well as effective.¹²¹

The range of alarm systems currently available is diverse. Much has been written about intruder alarms that protect closed museums by night, but there is significantly less discourse on devices that operate inside during open hours.

Pressure-sensitive mats are one of the simplest systems. Embedded with pairs of electrical conductors, these rubber mats set off an alert if anyone stands on them. Accordingly, they can be placed in front of, or around, exhibits to help enforce a 'sterile area'. As Burke and Adeloyle point out, this type of precaution is rather obvious; if mats are poorly camouflaged they will be side-stepped by observant iconoclasts.¹²² At least they are inexpensive to buy and install, and perform a basic detective function.¹²³

Another option is the introduction of photoelectric beams. These operate by directing a narrow ray of light between two points. When the beam is broken by someone passing through, the alarm sounds. Because photoelectric beams can be installed running parallel to walls, one unit may be sufficient to cover a whole line of hanging pictures. However, a single light beam can be outmanoeuvred by movement at an unusual height, and false alerts can be caused by insects or dust particles.¹²⁴

Passive infrared (PIR) sensors are also prone to accidental triggering. These instruments are designed to detect body heat within a certain area, and can be deceived by sunlight or radiators if they are positioned inappropriately. Otherwise they are stable, and provide a more comprehensive protective zone than photoelectric beams. Hoare notes that they can be used to create an invisible alarm 'curtain' in front of displays.¹²⁵

Devices that discern actual movement take two forms: microwave sensors and ultrasonic sensors. Both function using the Doppler Shift principle, so that any object entering a defined space between the wave source and receiver alters the frequency of the wave pattern and prompts the system to go into alarm mode. Of the two, microwave sensors operate at a higher frequency and are more sensitive. The waves that they emit can penetrate thin partitions, so alarms may be set off accidentally by movement on the other side of nearby walls or windows.¹²⁶ Increasingly, though, both microwave and ultrasonic sensors are being used in conjunction with PIR sensors to establish cross-checking systems. An alarm will only be activated if the diagnosis

of one detector is confirmed by the other. This makes these alarm types much more reliable.¹²⁷

Finally, collections can be protected by capacitance alarms, which surround individual exhibits with an electromagnetic field. Any interruption to the field initiates an alert. Many experts agree that capacitance devices are the most stable.¹²⁸ Yet the real benefit of this design is its precision. While the electromagnetic field protects a painting or sculpture from all angles, its range can be minimised to within a few inches of the item. Capacitance technology is a positive solution from security and access perspectives alike.¹²⁹

If an institution opts to enhance security by introducing or augmenting an alarm system, the type chosen will depend on several factors: the size of gallery, the perceived level of risk and the resources available. Many devices are expensive to buy and maintain, especially if a large proportion of the collection is to be secured. Each capacitance alarm, for instance, will only cover one artwork, and must be installed professionally.¹³⁰ The most sophisticated systems tend to be found in larger institutions or protecting particularly important displays. However, as technology progresses, they are becoming a realistic prospect for all museums. Wider usage would be beneficial in curbing iconoclasm. So long as alarms are employed properly and their limitations are understood, they can play a unique security role with minimal disruption to access.

Developing technology has had a marked impact on security over the last few decades. Like the emergence of electronic alarm systems, the invention and evolution of closed-circuit television (CCTV) has changed the way in which art is protected. This measure provides an artificial extension to staff in the form of cameras and monitoring equipment. It is designed to boost their efficiency in detecting threats, but this simple aim belies a more complex role in reducing iconoclasm.

CCTV in museums operates as it does in other public places; cameras capture events on the ground and relay them to a central monitoring station. If somebody starts behaving inappropriately towards an artwork, the operator will be alerted and prompted to take action. The main strength of CCTV is that it enables a single employee to watch over several different locations at once, streamlining the invigilation process. Over-reliance on this aid is a danger. As Hoare remarks, CCTV is no substitute for human vigilance; it should always be treated as a supplementary

tool.¹³¹ Practicalities can dictate otherwise. Few galleries have the manpower necessary to supervise all areas of collections concurrently.¹³²

In theory, using cameras to reinforce attendants' surveillance skills is a good way of thwarting iconoclasm. This approach is flawed in practice though. Whereas alarm systems allow staff to undertake other duties until summoned, CCTV screens have to be monitored constantly to ensure that no offence goes unseen. As a drain on staff time, this is obviously problematic. The inability of operators to remain alert over long periods poses another worry. Experiments show that concentration spans never exceed tens of minutes.¹³³ Moreover, when a hazardous situation is spotted it is almost impossible for a response to be initiated quickly enough to prevent injury from occurring. Attendants in the vicinity can be notified using a two-way radio or pager, but it will often be too late. The inherent scope for error and delay suggests that staff may be better employed patrolling galleries in person, as opposed to watching events on a screen.¹³⁴

Although CCTV is an ineffective mode of detection compared to local alarm systems or human invigilation, it has other merits in tackling iconoclasm. It can record footage of attacks. This means it can be employed retrospectively, providing evidence to establish whether damage was intentional, to identify perpetrators and to bring charges against them. For these purposes cameras ought to be situated among displays, but it is also useful to position them at entrances and exits, where clearer images of assailants may be obtained. In 2007 French police used CCTV films to identify the group who broke into the Musée d'Orsay and punched Monet's *Le Pont d'Argenteuil*. It is hard to gauge the significance of this footage in securing the group's arrest, as one member gave himself up to police before they could be located. Nevertheless, the films did enable descriptions of the culprits to be circulated in the media.¹³⁵

To improve the chances of a positive identification, cameras should be aimed strategically and lighting should be adequate. In 1996 a Home Office report raised misgivings over the ability of many CCTV installations to produce images of a sufficient standard for use in prosecutions. It found that cameras were often poorly positioned and maintained, consequently capturing images that were blurred and too small.¹³⁶ Technical shortcomings are not the sole complication in the retrospective use of CCTV. At the 'Rogues Gallery' conference in 2005, it was pointed out that clothing like baseball caps and hoods can hamper attempts at identification.¹³⁷ The

gang who destroyed a series of photographs by Andres Serrano in Sweden in October 2007 wore masks to conceal their identities.¹³⁸ At the moment this issue lacks a clear-cut solution, though it is a concern shared by all public establishments.

Some galleries find it hard to justify recording images on a 24-hour basis when the threat of iconoclasm is relatively low. There are alternatives. Cameras can be connected to alarm systems, so that recording apparatus stays dormant until a sensor detects someone approaching. This arrangement guarantees that only the most relevant footage will be taken and resources will not be wasted.¹³⁹ Then again, continuous filming has benefits. It can illuminate the visiting patterns of iconoclasts, or reveal accomplices out of range of a targeted artwork. In any event, it is recommended that all footage captured, no matter how mundane, should be retained for 28 days to aid any subsequent investigations.¹⁴⁰

Further to this retrospective role, CCTV could act in a deterrent capacity. It is conceivable that some potential assailants are discouraged by the presence of a camera surveying displays, particularly if their behaviour is opportunistic. CCTV serves this function in other public contexts. Goldstein states that people are less likely to destroy property in the community if they believe they will be observed and apprehended.¹⁴¹ The mutilation of art is often carried out surreptitiously because those responsible wish to remain anonymous. If identification and exposure were more probable, they might think twice before acting.

It has been argued that any deterrent effect is negated by over-use of this technology. Hoare insists that CCTV is now so prevalent in everyday life that “familiarity has bred considerable contempt”.¹⁴² Her view is not borne out by evidence though. Only a few years ago, the Smithsonian authorities found that the installation of cameras put a stop to deliberate interference with exhibits in the National Portrait Gallery.¹⁴³ Assuming that CCTV is backed up with both human responses and repercussions for offenders, it appears to be a reliable deterrent.

The visibility of cameras is not wholly advantageous; in certain circumstances it can have an impact on accessibility. Prominent monitoring equipment may cause some ordinary visitors to feel encroached upon and suspected of wrong-doing. And with heightened self-consciousness, they may imagine that they are unwelcome. To avoid the visiting experience from being blighted by the ‘Big Brother’ effect, institutions should install CCTV sympathetically. Camera units ought to be discernable, but not threateningly so. With careful angling, a minimum number can

cover a maximum area of gallery space. It is also worth noting that the sight of security cameras does not always have negative connotations. As the MLA National Security Adviser points out, many people feel safer when they recognise the presence of CCTV; it is an indicator of a secure environment.¹⁴⁴ Thus, CCTV can be presented in a positive light. With considerate installation and reassurance provided by on-hand staff, cameras can be introduced not as intrusive devices, but as confirmation that museums take the safeguarding of visitors and collections seriously.

Most security measures rely to some extent on either their implementation by attendants or the staff responses that they elicit. Whether it is conducting bag searches or reacting to alarms, human involvement endows protective schemes with an intuitive dimension, which is essential for a crime as unpredictable as iconoclasm. Members of staff also serve a vital function in their own right: invigilation. This is one of the most important tools that galleries possess against the threat of attacks.¹⁴⁵ Staff can act as deterrents, detect hazardous situations and prevent assailants from striking. They juggle the various tasks that artificial devices perform, and often fulfil them with greater success. The value of maintaining and enhancing human surveillance is readily apparent, but some questions persist. How can invigilation be organised to achieve the best security results, and what, if any, are its drawbacks?

In museums and galleries all employees are responsible for collections, regardless of their specific job descriptions. Anyone who notices damage or identifies a hazardous situation has a duty to take appropriate action.¹⁴⁶ However, for the purposes of this discussion, the focus is on members of staff whose principal charge is invigilation: checking displays and mingling with visitors. A range of titles apply to these people, including ‘warder’, ‘guard’, ‘front-of-house’ and ‘visitor services assistant’. The designation ‘gallery attendant’ is used here.

The organisation of attendants depends on how many a museum employs. Institutions with small workforces will require them to be mobile, rotating between rooms to cover all areas. Larger establishments, like the National Gallery, can allocate one attendant per room, which allows them to be more static. This is the preferable scenario as it means that exhibits are supervised constantly. The Government Indemnity Scheme recommends one attendant per room where indemnified material is being displayed.¹⁴⁷ Yet meeting this standard on a day-to-day basis is impossible for many museums. Employing trained staff is expensive, and even relatively well-funded galleries can struggle to pay large invigilation teams.

When the exhibition 'Sensation' was loaned to the Brooklyn Museum of Art in 1999, it was intended originally that twenty-one attendants would protect the artworks. Budgetary considerations rationed this taskforce to ten.¹⁴⁸ The cost is the major handicap associated with enhancing human surveillance. Galleries may recruit volunteers, but this requires that additional training is provided, and the turnover in assistance can be frequent. With limited numbers of long-term staff, some museums have little choice other than to keep attendants mobile. Regular but random patrols optimise effectiveness in these cases.

Mobile or static, gallery attendants have two observational duties. Their first is to monitor collections and spot when an item has been harmed. Some assaults are executed without others noticing, and a delay in uncovering the damage may allow perpetrators to escape. On 22nd March 1968 National Gallery staff took several hours to notice that Vermeer's *A Young Woman Seated at a Virginal* had been cut with a sharp instrument.¹⁴⁹ By this time, the person responsible had gone. In fact, no culprit was ever found. Delays can also exacerbate damage. If acid is thrown at a painting the image will be obliterated steadily until it receives attention.¹⁵⁰ In this capacity it is not enough for attendants to be vigilant; they should be familiar with the collections in their care. An artwork that has been slashed or doused with acid will be disfigured obviously, but one that has been scratched or marked could go unnoticed for days if staff do not know it well.

As their second duty, attendants must be observant towards visitors. Those behaving unusually, whether in a rowdy or suspicious manner, ought to be singled out and cautioned.¹⁵¹ Such action may subdue a developing situation before destruction occurs. Individuals who attract attention should continue to be monitored, and, ideally, a warning should be circulated among attendants. Prospective iconoclasts who raise suspicions in one part of a museum often move to another to carry out assaults, or else leave and return later. The first time that Wilhelm Arie de Rijk visited the Rijksmuseum on 14th September 1975 he was asked to leave on account of his erratic behaviour. De Rijk complied, but returned subsequently to slash Rembrandt's *Nightwatch*.¹⁵² Had all staff been briefed when De Rijk aroused concerns initially, he might not have been granted a second entry, and the *Nightwatch* could have been spared. To this end it is essential that attendants have a means of communicating with each other, such as a two-way radio or paging system. This enables them to inform colleagues of possible risks and to summon assistance.

Occasionally, attendants must take on a more active charge. Confronted with a visitor who is determined to sabotage collections, they may be expected to intervene by tackling or restraining the person physically. Staff in this position have to react rapidly, even though iconoclasts have the element of surprise on their side. When Vincent Bethell decided to deface a painting in the National Gallery in August 1998, he practiced withdrawing a paint tube from his clothing until satisfied that he could enact the motion swiftly. Bethell later explained that he had “managed to get the whole thing down to about 2-3 seconds”, which he considered “enough time to outwit the security guard”.¹⁵³ Attendants on duty stood little chance of preventing Bethell from smearing Rembrandt’s *Self Portrait at the Age of 63* with paint (Plate 91). Reacting fast enough to avert damage is a challenge. Nevertheless, prompt physical intervention will minimise harm in most instances.

For the best results, attendants ought to be trained in overpowering people.¹⁵⁴ They should also have a clear understanding of the limits and entitlements of their duty. Whilst rescuing artworks is important, avoiding personal injury takes precedence. If an iconoclast is wielding a dangerous weapon, and poses as much of a threat to people as collections, attendants should not put themselves at risk. These scenarios are better left to the police.¹⁵⁵ At the other extreme, over-caution is undesirable as it compromises attendants’ control over the situation. When Chris Ofili’s *The Holy Virgin Mary* was attacked in 1999, staff at the Brooklyn Museum of Art were not confident enough to restrain the assailant. Dennis Heiner would not have been difficult to stop; he was 72 years old and armed only with a tube of paint. Yet, taken by surprise, attendants felt unauthorised to act. They simply looked on and shouted as Heiner spread paint over the collage.¹⁵⁶ Ofili’s work was defaced, and the effectiveness of invigilation was undermined.

Museum authorities might conclude that specialist security personnel should take the place of gallery attendants. This proposal is ill-judged. As well as generating further expense, it could necessitate the introduction of externally contracted staff. Although these forces are sometimes employed for corporate events or temporary exhibitions, most experts advise against their everyday use.¹⁵⁷ They are experienced in negotiation and physical intervention, but are unlikely to be well-versed in collections care. In-house attendants will have a more suitable knowledge base and stronger institutional loyalty. With supplementary training, they offer a better long-term service.¹⁵⁸

Recent changes in the role of the gallery attendant are another reason to resist drafting in external personnel. Increasingly, attendants are being encouraged to perform interpretive duties alongside invigilation. This requires that their knowledge of collections is sound. It also means that they have greater contact with visitors: answering queries, engaging in conversations and explaining displays. The restructure that occurred at the Victoria & Albert Museum in 2003 is indicative of this general trend. Autonomous responsibilities including security, welcome, ticketing and information provision were amalgamated under ‘visitor services’, thereby creating “one flexible multifunctional workforce who understand and connect with the museum on many levels”.¹⁵⁹

With regard to broadening access, this is a positive step. Many people are intimidated by traditional attendants whose sole concern is invigilation. As John Falk and Lynn Dierking assert, even frequent visitors can be affected by their authoritarian demeanour, and may never feel wholly relaxed in their presence.¹⁶⁰ The wearing of official uniforms partly accounts for this.¹⁶¹ However, their activity must also be a factor. Expanding remits to include visitor assistance, education work and tour guiding gives attendants a more approachable public image. Rather than be considered as barriers to collections, they can represent links.¹⁶²

The impact on security may be less favourable. In 1990 Hoare advocated that invigilation should be undertaken independently of tasks like staffing receptions or retail kiosks.¹⁶³ Although such economisation of manpower could be described as prudent, she maintained that it distracted attendants and put collections at risk. Hoare’s point still stands, and it casts a shadow over the current trend towards diversifying attendants’ duties. Invigilation demands the capacity for keen observation at all times. There is currently no concrete proof that supplementary interpretive assignments have a detrimental effect on standards of security, but common sense suggests that an employee talking to one group of visitors will be unable to keep a constant watch over others.¹⁶⁴

While increasing invigilation is a convincing response to iconoclasm, it is not a guarantee of safety. The way in which attendants and their duties are organised can have a bearing on effectiveness. Moreover, the associated costs make it a prohibitive strategy for many institutions.

Until now, this discussion has concentrated on material means of improving gallery protection. Bag searches, barriers, alarms and surveillance are all distinct

physical answers to the problem at hand. Security policy is a less tangible solution, but one that requires examination. An overview of its main components in relation to curbing iconoclasm seems an apt way of concluding the chapter.

Policy is the organisational lynchpin of practical security implementation. A cultural institution that enhances security without regard to policy is a hazard to itself. Unsuitable approaches may be pursued, resources may be wasted and collections may be endangered. Conversely, an institution that acknowledges levels of risk, considers its options and plans its protective strategy will have a significant advantage should an attack be mounted. It will be better positioned to apprehend perpetrators and minimise damage, indeed, it will be more likely to forestall incidents outright. The tools of security policy are as important to invest in and maintain as devices like barriers or alarm systems. Perhaps they are even more so; they grant the opportunity to take control of situations.

A security survey is one such tool. During this procedure the security provisions of a display, room or entire establishment are analysed systematically to identify potential weak points. Provisions are rated according to a process of risk assessment, which considers factors like the value of protected items, their vulnerability, the possible threats, the likelihood of a threat materialising, and its impact.¹⁶⁵ Results are then used to guide improvements. Surveys are beneficial not just because they pinpoint deficiencies, but because they indicate how available resources would be best employed. By prioritising areas at particular risk, they enable museums to make improvements at a constructive but sustainable pace. Ideally, surveys should be conducted by an independent specialist, who will produce a report of findings and a strategic forward plan. It is possible to undertake surveys in-house if an inexpensive preliminary appraisal is required.¹⁶⁶

Surveys are commonly embarked upon after security breaches, to determine what would prevent a repetition of events. It is preferable that they are carried out without prompting. A pre-emptive evaluation will not be under pressure to effect change immediately. Thus, it may be more thorough in its execution and more precise in its recommendations. Surveys should also be organised routinely. Security is an ever-evolving concern that calls for continuous attention. A regular programme of assessment and upgrade is better than an erratic sequence of improvements both logistically and financially.

Knowledge transfer is another manifestation of security policy that is most effective as an ongoing process. This phrase pertains to the exchange of information, either internally (between individuals or departments within a museum), or externally (between a museum and other institutions or organisations). In terms of iconoclasm, this might involve sharing news of threats or offering suggestions for remedial action. The value in circulating this information internally is self-evident. The advantages of external discussion are worth emphasising.

In 1997 the Museums & Galleries Commission (MGC) advised that details of thefts from collections should be shared among cultural institutions.¹⁶⁷ Victimised museums can be inclined to keep these problems to themselves, yet the MGC proposed that passing on intelligence helps to identify patterns of incidents and illuminates the wider picture. It concluded that “thefts may sometimes be prevented by one museum learning from another’s experience”.¹⁶⁸ This could apply to iconoclasm. A gallery that raises awareness of attacks it has sustained might make others less vulnerable. Meanwhile, knowledge transfer on the subject of effective prevention would spare galleries from formulating strategies from scratch. They could use and build upon a communal bank of information and guidance instead.

Communicating with other organisations is also worthwhile, particularly with the police.¹⁶⁹ Museums in regular contact with officers will be kept up to date on emerging threats and options for protection. Simultaneously, discussion will help police to catch iconoclasts and bring them to justice. Collections benefit both ways. Maintaining good relations is vital in this equation, and there are various methods to this end. Police officials may be commissioned as advisers or asked to sit on security panels, but informal bonds can be cultivated too. Burke and Adeloey suggest inviting them to exhibition openings.¹⁷⁰ Sharing experiences and expertise has a strengthening effect. An institution that carries out knowledge transfer with its peers and other organisations may tackle the issue of iconoclasm with greater authority.

When an attacker strikes, the key to control is preparation. An emergency plan that addresses deliberate destruction is the third tool of security policy that ought to be embraced. Such a document outlines each member of staff’s duties during and after an incident. It instructs them on dealing with perpetrators, treating damaged art and managing other visitors.¹⁷¹ Emergency plans should be comprehensive; they have to be flexible enough to accommodate the many courses that events may take.¹⁷² Consequently, constructing a plan is time-consuming, but the benefits are substantial.

It will enable employees to respond to situations quickly and appropriately, so that order can be restored and harmful repercussions can be minimised. A plan also reassures staff in a disorientating environment. They are more likely to behave calmly and assertively if they know that they are acting in accordance with institutional guidelines. Indeed, adhering to a plan makes the entire organisation more accountable.¹⁷³

Once a plan has been drawn up, it is crucial that everyone becomes familiar with it. Procedures should be circulated among staff, and new employees should be briefed during their induction. It is wise to hold emergency drills because this motivates individuals to remember their responsibilities. Drills are also valuable as a form of self-assessment. They expose any flaws in procedures, which allows for alterations to be made before a real attack occurs.¹⁷⁴ Like all aspects of security policy, the success of plans relies on museum management being proactive and keeping one step ahead of threats.

Iconoclasm is only ever possible when there are sufficient gaps in protective arrangements. These gaps may be physical or organisational, but, ultimately, they will be the deciding factor in whether a determined assailant succeeds in wreaking harm. For this reason, security enhancement is the obvious response. It is only natural that galleries should want to plug the holes in their defences. Choosing to embark on such a programme is the simple part though. Implementing systems effectively is not straightforward, and the outcomes of enhancement are not always favourable.

This chapter set out to identify those security measures most competent in curbing iconoclasm. The main options have been analysed and contrasted accordingly, and a number of findings stand out.

To start with, different types of attack are best forestalled by different types of security. One prospective assailant will be deterred by the sight of a surveillance camera, while another will be stopped only if weapons are confiscated at the gallery doors. The efficiency of each precaution depends on the iconoclast's motives, degree of determination and intended manner of attack.

Evaluation also reveals that no protective measure is ideal in practice. Some systems, such as strict admission arrangements, are complicated to enforce. Others, like alarms, are reliant on human responses. The benefits of CCTV can be undermined by poor maintenance, and security policy is pointless if it is not reviewed

and updated frequently. Physical barriers can be hazardous to the collections that they shield, while unobtrusive protection leaves artworks inherently vulnerable. Even human invigilation does not guarantee safety. No matter how alert attendants are, iconoclasts always have the element of surprise on their side. Essentially, when selecting a scheme, there is no foolproof choice.

It might have been naïve to commence a search for the most effective forms of defence, but this exercise has not been fruitless. It has confirmed that isolated safeguards are not the way forward. Every gallery should aim to construct a security interface instead, a coordinated network of precautions as multifaceted as iconoclasm itself. The measures included should have complementary capacities: protective and detective, material and organisational, overt and covert, human and artificial. Thus, invigilation ought to be used in conjunction with alarms and glazing, bag searches ought to be conducted in tandem with CCTV monitoring and security surveys. Introduced together, these arrangements would address a multitude of destructive scenarios and compensate for each other's shortcomings. Designing, operating and developing an interface is a greater undertaking than augmenting security in only one direction. Yet, if all museums were to invest time, effort and money in this approach, iconoclasm could be reduced to the most minimal of risks.

But is this wholly desirable? The second aim of this chapter was to elucidate the effect that security enhancement has on the accessibility of collections. In this respect, an interface is not so appealing. Most individual measures can be implemented in such a way that they seldom detract from the visitor experience. However, surrounding artworks with combined defensive systems makes restricted access hard to avoid. It facilitates the transformation of galleries into glass-cased fortresses.

A decade on from the attack on Picasso's *Femme Nue Devant le Jardin* at the Stedelijk Museum, the security-access dilemma endures. Should galleries jeopardise access by improving security, or endanger security by upholding access? This question seems irresolvable. Yet a stalemate cannot last forever. Recent developments suggest glimmers of hope on the horizon.

Firstly, it may be possible to temper security measures with intensified efforts to put visitors at ease. Bag searches, for instance, can be rendered less intimidating if staff explain why they are necessary. The discomfort that is sometimes evoked by CCTV and alarms may be mitigated similarly. Galleries are exploring this avenue

already, as the expanding interpretive dimension of invigilation shows. When an attendant engages visitors in friendly conversation, the atmosphere of the room changes; the mood of surveillance gives way to a more welcoming air. Visitors may not forget that they are being monitored, but at least they are reassured. If further interaction with the public was encouraged, protective measures could be made more palatable, and a settlement between security and access could be found.

This approach has limitations. While interaction with staff can allay feelings of harassment and self-consciousness, it does not tackle the issue of a compromised viewing experience. Devices that establish barriers between exhibits and people may continue to disrupt engagement and enjoyment. If paintings are displayed in sealed cases, the presence of approachable attendants will be unlikely to reconcile the lost sense of intimacy.

A second possibility facilitates access more thoroughly, but obliges museums to take a bolder leap into the unknown. Modes of unobtrusive protection, like changes in flooring or lighting around displays, are the only measures that afford genuine access. They do not intimidate or alienate. On the contrary, they allow visitors to gaze at art directly, and enjoy the advantages of uninhibited proximity. Unobtrusive protection is relatively under-utilised at present; many doubt its ability to keep collections safe. Trials have commenced in UK galleries though, and so far the findings are encouraging.¹⁷⁵ Suggesting that this tactic replaces traditional security is too drastic. In isolation it provides scant resistance to determined iconoclasts. Nonetheless, within an interface, its contribution is unique. Introducing raised platforms alongside alarms, or strategic spotlighting alongside invigilation, enables art to be simultaneously approachable and defensible.

This latter solution will have critics. It resembles more a compromise in favour of access than an equal balance of ideals. Perhaps some bias in one or other direction is inevitable. Although the MLA National Security Adviser claims that security and access are not fundamentally opposed principles, they neither could be described as readily compatible.¹⁷⁶ Yet, if balance is unachievable, conceding towards access is the next best course.

In purely material terms, the gallery is a building that stores and displays art. Conceptually, though, it yields more than the sum of its parts. As Kimmelman explains, “part of what’s beautiful about an art museum, aside from what’s on view, is that it implies trust – it lets us stand next to objects that supposedly represent

civilisation at its best and, in doing so, flatters us for respecting our common welfare”.¹⁷⁷ It is easy to lose sight of this in the pursuit of increased protection, but preserving the implication of trust is as important as preserving collections. In fact, it may be more so. While individual artworks benefit from security enhancement, the very essence of the gallery benefits from the assurance of accessibility.

References

- ¹ – This case study is analysed in Chapter One.
- ² – See Chapter One.
- ³ – For details of this attack see:

Simons, Marlise: 'A Picasso is Severely Slashed by a Dutch Mental Patient', *The New York Times*, 18th May 1999, p-

Anonymous: 'Femme Nue Devant le Jardin', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, <http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/picasso.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)

Anonymous: 'Picasso Painting Slashed', *The Topeka Capital – Journal*, 18th May 1999, p-

Anonymous: 'Picasso Painting Vandalised in Dutch Museum', *BBC News*, 17th May 1999, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/346110.stm>, (Consulted 08/05/08)

Anonymous: 'Slasher Ruins Picasso Work', *The Guardian*, 18th May 1999, p-
- ⁴ – Simons: 'A Picasso is Severely Slashed by a Dutch Mental Patient', p-
- ⁵ – *Ibid.*, p-
- ⁶ – 'Paul G.' had been in a psychiatric clinic since 1978, when he attempted to hijack a KLM flight to Madrid using a toy gun. In 1990 he escaped from his unit and sprayed the *Nightwatch* with sulphuric acid. On his return he underwent further psychiatric treatment. At the time of the attack on *Femme Nue Devant le Jardin* 'Paul G.' had been given temporary release. See:

Simons: 'A Picasso is Severely Slashed by a Dutch Mental Patient', p-

Anonymous: 'Femme Nue Devant le Jardin', <http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/picasso.html>

Anonymous: 'Man Confesses to Attack on Masterpiece', *Expatica News*, 26th June 2006, www.expatica.com/actual/article.asp?channel_id=1&story_id=31084, (Consulted 29/06/06)

Anonymous: 'The Nightwatch', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, <http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/rembrandt.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)

Anonymous: 'Vandalized Rembrandt To Go Back on Display', *The New York Times*, 28th April 1990, p-
- ⁷ – Quoted in:

Simons: 'A Picasso is Severely Slashed by a Dutch Mental Patient', p-
- ⁸ – Klaster, Jan Bart: 'Red Alert', *Art News*, Volume 91, Number 2, February 1992, p31
- ⁹ – Vogel, Carol: 'Restored, but Still Blue', *The New York Times*, 4th January 2002, p-

The security arrangements introduced after the disfigurement of *Suprematism 1920-1927 (White Cross on Grey)* are mentioned in:

Sokolov, Alexander: 'Alexander Brener: Chronicle of a Trial', *Flash Art International*, Volume 30, Number 194, May-June 1997, p86
- ¹⁰ – Anonymous: 'Picasso Painting Slashed', p-
- ¹¹ – ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and Protection: A Handbook for Cultural Heritage Institutions*, London and New York, 1993, p9
- ¹² – Povoledo, Elisabetta: 'Venice Shaken by Vandalism Spree', *International Herald Tribune*, 2nd July 2004, www.ihb.com/bin/print.php?file=527642.html, (Consulted 07/07/04)

For further information on these attacks see:

Popham, Peter: 'Vandal Attacks Art in St Mark's Square', *The Independent*, 30th June 2004, p-

Anonymous: 'Venice Puzzled by Hammer Attacks', *BBC News*, 30th June 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/europe/3851991.stm>, (Consulted 19/05/06)

-
- ¹³ – Alexandra Smith, Operation Manager of the Art Loss Register, commented in 2002 that most artworks are not as well-protected as people assume. See:
Riding, Alan: ‘Your Stolen Art? I Threw it Away, Dear’, *The New York Times*, 17th May 2002, p-
- ¹⁴ – Henley, Jon: ‘French Waiter Admits Mass Art Theft’, *The Guardian*, 23rd May 2002, p-
Breitwieser targeted museums in France, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Austria and the Netherlands, amassing a hoard of items including artworks, ceramics, jewellery, silverware and musical instruments. For further reading see:
Delves Broughton, Philip: ‘Thief’s Mother Destroys \$2.7b Art Haul’, *The Age*, 17th May 2002, www.theage.com.au/articles/2002/05/16/1021544048369.html,
(Consulted 19/05/02)
Gentleman, Amelia: ‘Woman Joins Art Thief Son in Dock’, *The Guardian*, 7th January 2005, p-
Riding: ‘Your Stolen Art?’, p-
Anonymous: ‘Art Thief Jailed for Four Years’, *BBC News*, 7th February 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/2736351.stm>, (Consulted 08/05/08)
Anonymous: ‘Infamous French Art Thief to Release Memoir’, *CBC News*, 2nd October 2006, www.cbc.ca/arts/story/2006/10/02/thief-book-breitwieser.html,
(Consulted 08/05/08)
- ¹⁵ – Dolnick, Edward: *Stealing the Scream: The Hunt for a Missing Masterpiece*, Cambridge, 2007, pp5-10
For more information on this theft see:
Alberge, Darya: ‘Mystery, Intrigue and Stolen Paintings’, *The Times*, 23rd August 2004, p-
Stevenson, Richard W.: ‘“The Scream” is Back, But Where has it Been?’, *The New York Times*, 5th June 1994, p-
Anonymous: ‘Art Thieves Snatch Scream’, *BBC On This Day*, 12th February 199 http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/february/12/newsid_3591000/3591994.stm, (Consulted 08/05/08)
Anonymous: ‘“Scream” is Found Undamaged in Norway’, *The New York Times*, 8th May 1994, p-
- ¹⁶ – Quoted in:
Boyes, Roger: ‘Norway Screams as Masterpiece is Stolen Again’, *The Times*, 23rd August 2004, p-
For further details of this theft see:
Browne, Anthony: ‘Not a Whisper about Stolen Scream’, *The Times*, 2nd May 2006, p-
Dolnick, Edward: ‘Meanwhile: Art Wants to be Free’, *The New York Times*, 4th August 2005, p-
Fouché, Gwladys and Bowcott, Owen: ‘Tourists See Munch’s Scream Stolen’, *The Guardian*, 23rd August, 2004, p-
Waters, Darren: ‘Protecting the World’s Art Treasures’, *BBC News*, 30th September 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/arts/4289668.stm>,
(Consulted 08/05/08)
Anonymous: ‘Scream Stolen from Norway Museum’, *BBC News*, 22nd August 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/3588282.stm>, (Consulted 08/05/08)
- ¹⁷ – Anonymous: ‘Graffiti Star Sneaks Work into Tate’, *BBC News*, 17th October 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/arts/3201344.stm>, (Consulted 13/05/08)
For details of the ‘installations’ that Banksy has carried out see:
Bone, James: ‘Banksy Commits another Hanging Offence’, *The Times*, 25th March 2005, p-
Jinman, Richard: ‘Artful Dodger Banksy takes Manhattan’, *The Guardian*, 26th March 2005, p-

-
- Rimmer, Cate: *Fox in the Henhouse: Acts of Mischief and Malice by Artists in Galleries and Museums*, Master of Letters (M.Litt) Dissertation, School of Art History, University of St Andrews, UK, 2005, pp28-30
- Anonymous: 'Cave Art Hoax Hits British Museum', *BBC News*, 19th May 2005 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/arts/4563751.stm>, (Consulted 13/05/08)
- Anonymous: 'Prankster Infiltrates NY Museums', *BBC News*, 25th March 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/americas/4382245.stm>, (Consulted 13/10/05)
- ¹⁸ – Anonymous: 'Prankster Infiltrates NY Museums', <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/americas/4382245.stm>
- ¹⁹ – Boyes: 'Norway Screams as Masterpiece is Stolen Again', p-
- ²⁰ – Apollinaire, Guillaume: 'And "The Guards Who Keep Watch at the Gates of the Louvre..." The Theft of the *Mona Lisa*', (1911), *Apollinaire on Art: Essays and Reviews 1902-1918*, ed. Leroy C. Breunig, trans. Susan Suleiman, London and New York, 1972, p178
- For further information on this theft see:
- Rachlin, Harvey: *Scandals, Vandals and da Vincis: A Gallery of Remarkable Art Tales*, London, 2007, pp1-15
- Anonymous: 'Leonardo's 'La Gioconda': Disappearance from the Louvre', *The Times*, 23rd August 1911, p-
- Anonymous: 'The Missing Leonardo: Possible Clues', *The Times*, 26th August 1911, p-
- ²¹ – Dolnick: 'Meanwhile: Art Wants to be Free', p-
- ²² – Quoted in:
- Osborn, Andrew: 'Two Arrested over Hermitage Theft', *The Independent*, 7th August 2006, p-
- For more information on thefts at the Hermitage over the last decade see:
- Anonymous: 'Art 'Stolen to Order' in Russia', *BBC News*, 25th April 2002, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/1950238.stm>, (Consulted 23/01/08)
- Anonymous: 'Hermitage Hit by Mystery Thieves', *BBC News*, 1st August 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/5235148.stm>, (Consulted 23/01/08)
- Anonymous: 'Hermitage Targeted for Theft, Again', *CBC News*, 8th December 2006, www.cbc.ca/news/story/2006/12/08/russia-hermitage-theft.html, (Consulted 23/01/08)
- ²³ – After an attack on a panel from Cy Twombly's triptych *The Three Dialogues of Plato* in July 2007, the theft of four paintings from a gallery in Nice in August 2007, and the mutilation of Claude Monet's *Le Pont d'Argenteuil* in October 2007, the French Culture Minister vowed to improve security at French cultural sites. See:
- Kanter, James: 'Vandal Punches Hole in a Monet in Paris', *The New York Times*, 8th October 2007, p-
- The attacks on *Le Pont d'Argenteuil* and *The Three Dialogues of Plato* are discussed in Chapter Three. For details of the theft from the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Nice see:
- de la Baume, Maïa: 'Four Masterworks Stolen from a French Museum', *The New York Times*, 7th August 2007, p-
- Willsher, Kim: 'Priceless Paintings Stolen at Gunpoint from Nice Museum', *The Guardian*, 7th August 2007, p-
- Anonymous: 'French Police Recover Four Paintings Stolen from Nice Museum', *International Herald Tribune*, 4th June 2008, www.ihl.com/articles/ap/2008/06/04/europe/EU-GEN-France-Art-Theft.php, (Consulted 09/06/08)
- Anonymous: 'Repeat Art Heist on French Riviera', *ABC News*, 7th August 2007, <http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory?id=3453725>, (Consulted 09/05/08)

-
- ²⁴ – Anonymous: ‘Detailed Record of the Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Tate Gallery’, 14th July 2005, *Tate Website*, www.tate.org.uk/abouttate/tatetrustees_minutes_072005.pdf, (Consulted 14/05/08)
- ²⁵ – Darlington, Shasta: ‘Security Comes at a Price in Italy’, *The Boston Globe*, 11th August 2005, p-
- ²⁶ – For further details on the bombing of the Uffizi and the devastation it caused see:
 Conklin, John E.: *Art Crime*, Westport, Connecticut and London, 1994, p248
 Gamboni, Dario: *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution*, London, 1997, pp104-105
 Hughes, Robert: ‘Striking at the Past Itself’, *Time.Com*, 7th June 1993, www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,978662,00.html, (Consulted 11/06/07)
 Kimmelman, Michael: ‘After a Bombing, the Uffizi Begins Recovery’, *The New York Times*, 17th June 1993, p-
 Anonymous: ‘Travel Advisory: Michelangelo Room in Uffizi Reopens’, *The New York Times*, 6th March 1994, p-
- ²⁷ – Some of the specific security requirements set by the Government Indemnity Scheme are addressed later in this chapter. For a full list of requirements see:
 Anonymous: ‘Government Indemnity Scheme: Standard Conditions’, *Museums, Libraries and Archives Council Website*, www.mla.gov.uk/resources/assets/G/gis_stdcons_pdf_4690.pdf, (Consulted 16/03/08)
 For information on the establishment and operation of the GIS, and similar initiatives in other countries, see:
 Graham, Robert and Prideaux, Adam: *Insurance for Museums*, Museums, Libraries and Archives Council Report, London, 2004, pp12-13
 Office of Arts and Libraries: ‘Indemnity Arrangements for Local Museums, Galleries and other Non-Governmental Bodies’, *Collections Management*, ed. Anne Fahy, London and New York, 2003, pp288-296
 Stansfield, G.: ‘Insurance and Indemnity’, *Collections Management*, ed. Anne Fahy, London and New York, 2003, pp284-287
 Anonymous: ‘Government Indemnity Scheme (GIS)’, *Museums, Libraries and Archives Council Website*, www.mla.gov.uk/website/programmes/cultural_property/govt_indemnity_scheme, (Consulted 28/01/08)
- ²⁸ – Hoare, Nell: *Security for Museums*, Committee of Area Museum Councils Report in association with the Museums Association, London, 1990, px
- ²⁹ – Burke, Robert B. and Adeloey, Sam: *A Manual of Basic Museum Security*, Leicester, 1986, p3
- ³⁰ – Daniel Goldreyer charged the Stedelijk Museum \$450,000 to repair the lacerations inflicted on Barnett Newman’s *Who's Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue III*. The cost of the episode rose further when Goldreyer sued the museum over criticism of his workmanship. See:
 Esman, Abigail: ‘Letter from the Lowlands’, *Artnet News*, 10th April 1997, www.artnet.com/Magazine/reviews/esman/esman4-10-97.asp, (Consulted 11/06/07)
 Klaster: ‘Red Alert’, p31
- ³¹ – Burroughs, Katrina: ‘Collection Protection’, *Museums Journal*, May 2005, p29
- ³² – All quotations by Hooper-Greenhill derive from:
 Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean: ‘Counting Visitors or Visitors Who Count?’, *The Museum Time-Machine: Putting Cultures on Display*, ed. Robert Lumley, London and New York, 1988, pp214-215

-
- ³³ – Alvarez, Andrew: ‘Please Touch: The Use of Tactile Learning in Art Exhibits’, Conference Paper Given at ‘From Content to Play: Family-Oriented Interactive Spaces in Art and History Museums’, J. Paul Getty Museum Symposium, 4th-5th June 2005, *J. Paul Getty Museum Website*, www.getty.edu/education/symposium/Alvarez.pdf, (Consulted 21/01/08)
- ³⁴ – Correspondence with Roy Perry, Former Head of Conservation at Tate, London, UK (Sent 07/11/05)
- ³⁵ – Anonymous: “‘Mona Lisa’ Under Glass’, *The New York Times*, 13th October 1907, p- The attack on Ingres’s *The Sistine Chapel* is discussed in Chapter One.
- ³⁶ – Lodge, Mary F.A. and de la Poer Beresford, C.E.: ‘Letters to the Editor: Outrages at Picture Galleries’, *The Times*, 25th May 1914, p-
- ³⁷ – This assault was undertaken by Hugo Unzaga Villegas, a homeless Bolivian refugee. He assaulted the *Mona Lisa* in the hope that he would be jailed for his crime and thereby saved from destitution. See:
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p200
 Goss, Steven: ‘A Partial Guide to the Tools of Art Vandalism’, *Cabinet Magazine*, Issue 3, Summer 2001, www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/3/toolsofartvandalism.php, (Consulted 23/09/05)
 Anonymous: ‘Stone Thrown at Mona Lisa’, *The Times*, 31st December 1956, p-
- ³⁸ – Anonymous: ‘Mona Lisa Gains New Louvre Home’, *BBC News*, 6th April 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/arts/4413303.stm>, (Consulted 24/05/06)
- ³⁹ – Kimmelman, Michael: ‘A Symbol of Freedom and a Target for Terrorists’, *The New York Times*, 13th October 2007, p-
- ⁴⁰ – For further reading on the design of museum buildings and the impact that this has on the visiting public see:
 Duncan, Carol: *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*, London and New York, 1995, pp7-10
 Falk, John H. and Dierking, Lynn D.: *The Museum Experience*, Washington DC, 1992, pp85-87
 Hooper-Greenhill: ‘Counting Visitors or Visitors Who Count?’, p225
 Rees Leahy, Helen: ‘The Pompidou Effect’, *Museum Practice*, Issue 28, Winter 2004, pp36-39
 Waterfield, Giles: ‘Palaces of Art’, *Palaces of Art : Art Galleries in Britain 1790-1990*, ed. Giles Waterfield, Exhibition Catalogue: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 27th November 1991 – 1st March 1992; National Gallery of Scotland 12th March – 3rd May 1992, London, 1991, p18
- ⁴¹ – Dornberg, John: ‘Art Vandals: Why Do They Do It?’, *Art News*, Volume 86, Number 3, March 1987, pp103-104
 The assault on Barnett Newman’s *Who's Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue IV* is discussed in Chapter One.
- ⁴² – Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p193
- ⁴³ – Barker, Mary and Bridgeman, Cressida: *Preventing Vandalism: What Works?*, Police Research Group Report, Crime Detection & Prevention Series Paper 56, London, 1994, p14
- ⁴⁴ – Rutledge, Renata: ‘The Many Facets of a Museum Security Director’s Job’, *Museum, Archive, and Library Security*, ed. Lawrence J. Fennelly, Boston and London, 1983, p19
- ⁴⁵ – Burke and Adeloey: *A Manual of Basic Museum Security*, p20
- ⁴⁶ – Museums & Galleries Commission: ‘Security is Everybody’s Business’, *Collections Management*, ed. Anne Fahy, London and New York, 2003, p235
- ⁴⁷ – This opinion is given in various security guides, including:
 ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and Protection*, pp124-125

-
- Museums & Galleries Commission: *Improving Museum Security: MGC Guidelines for Good Practice*, London, 1997, p7
- On Guard: Protection Is Everybody's Business*, Script for Educational Programmes, produced by Elena Borowski, Office of Museum Programs, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, 1979(?), pp16-18
- ⁴⁸ – Stevenson: ‘“The Scream’ is Back, But Where has it Been?’’, p-
- ⁴⁹ – See:
- Burroughs: ‘Collection Protection’, p29
- Burroughs, Katrina: ‘Foiling Thieves: Daylight Robbery’, *Museum Practice*, Issue 30, Summer 2005, pp32-35
- ⁵⁰ – It is unclear how often members of the public are denied admittance to cultural institutions on the basis of their behaviour; few museums appear to keep records of such incidents. However, anecdotal evidence suggests that individuals acting in a particularly unusual manner can be turned away:
- Interview with William Brown, National Security Adviser at the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council, London, UK (Conducted 27/03/08)
- ⁵¹ – There have been numerous cases in which the calm appearance of an iconoclast has not roused the suspicions of museum staff. Dennis Heiner, for example, surprised gallery attendants with his attack on Chris Ofili’s *The Holy Virgin Mary*. One member of staff explained that he looked “like a typical museum visitor”. See:
- McFadden, Robert: ‘Painting in Disputed Exhibit Attacked by Man at Museum’, *The New York Times*, 17th December 1999, p-
- Similarly, a man who went on to damage ten paintings with a Stanley knife at the Dordrecht Museum in 1989 was described by guards as appearing to be an average “lunch-time visitor”. See:
- Goss: ‘A Partial Guide to the Tools of Art Vandalism’,
www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/3/toolsofartvandalism.php
- ⁵² – Hoare: *Security for Museums*, pix
- ⁵³ – Correspondence with Tate Liverpool representative who wished to remain anonymous, (Sent 03/11/05)
- For further guidance on the standards that cloakrooms should adhere to see:
- Ambrose, Timothy and Paine, Crispin: *Museum Basics*, London and New York, 2003, pp34-35
- Burke and Adeloye: *A Manual of Basic Museum Security*, p74
- ⁵⁴ – Villegas apparently told police: “I had a stone in my pocket and suddenly decided to throw it at the painting”. See:
- Anonymous: ‘Stone Thrown at Mona Lisa’, p-
- ⁵⁵ – Correspondence with Mark Trodd, Health, Safety and Security Adviser at Tate, London, UK (Sent 08/11/05)
- ⁵⁶ – Loof, Susanna: ‘Lichtenstein Painting Vandalised’, *The Independent*, 5th September 2005, p-
- This case study is discussed in Chapter Two.
- ⁵⁷ – Museums & Galleries Commission: ‘Security is Everybody’s Business’, p236
- ⁵⁸ – Correspondence with Tate Liverpool representative who wished to remain anonymous, (Sent 03/11/05)
- ⁵⁹ – Reported in:
- Darlington: ‘Security Comes at a Price in Italy’, p-
- For further details see:
- Follain, John: ‘Italian Fury at Price Hike to ‘Put Off’ Tourists’, *The Sunday Times*, 4th September 2005, p-
- McMahon, Barbara: ‘Italy Moves to Protect its Heritage from Terror’, *The Guardian*, 20th August 2005, p-

-
- Anonymous: 'London Bombings Spark Talk of Price Hikes at Italian Sites', *CBC News*, 10th August 2005, www.cbc.ca/arts/story/2005/08/10/italytourism050810.html, (Consulted 15/05/08)
- ⁶⁰ – This episode is discussed in Chapter Two. For further details of admission arrangements implemented at the National Gallery after the assault on the *Rokeby Venus* see: Anonymous: 'The National Gallery: Partial Reopening to the Public To-Day', *The Times*, 25th March 1914, p- 'Minutes of Adjourned Special Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 17th March 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, p178
- ⁶¹ – This resulted in the shooting of Leonardo's *The Virgin and Child with St Anne and St John the Baptist*. See Chapter One.
- ⁶² – Boggan, Steve: 'The Invisible Mending', *The Independent on Sunday*, 17th November 1991, p-
- ⁶³ – Interview with William Brown, (Conducted 27/03/08)
- ⁶⁴ – Quoted in: Anonymous: 'Prankster Infiltrates NY Museums', *BBC News*, 25th March 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/americas/4382245.stm>, (Consulted 13/10/05)
- ⁶⁵ – For a more detailed description of the 'target hardening' approach, and further examples of its application, see: Barker and Bridgeman: *Preventing Vandalism*, p14 Cohen, Stanley: 'Campaigning Against Vandalism', *Vandalism*, ed. Colin Ward, London, 1973, pp241-242 Goldstein, Arnold P.: *The Psychology of Vandalism*, New York and London, 1996, p61 Sykes, Jane: 'Vandal-Resistant Equipment and Detail Design', *Designing Against Vandalism*, ed. Jane Sykes, London, 1979, pp69-89
- ⁶⁶ – Barker and Bridgeman: *Preventing Vandalism*, p14
- ⁶⁷ – Mark Bridger lifted the lid of the tank and poured black ink into the formaldehyde. This case study is described in Chapter One.
- ⁶⁸ – Quoted in: Anonymous: 'Academy Outrage', *The Times*, 5th May 1914, p-
- ⁶⁹ – For advice on the security specifications that display cases should follow see: Ambrose and Paine: *Museum Basics*, p193 Hoare: *Security for Museums*, pvii Martin, David: 'Display Cases', *Museum Practice*, Issue 18, Volume 6, Number 3, 2001, pp49-55 Museums & Galleries Commission: *Improving Museum Security*, p15 Museums & Galleries Commission: 'Security is Everybody's Business', p237 Museums and Galleries Security Group: *Security in Museums, Archives and Libraries: A Practical Guide*, Re:souce: The Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries Report, London, 2003, pp15-16
- ⁷⁰ – The exhibition of the recovered works is mentioned in Chapter Three. This method of display was chosen for both environmental and security reasons. See: Walters, Tate: 'Oslo Museum to Show Recovered Munch Works', *United Press International*, 25th September 2006, www.upi.com/NewsTrack/view.php?StoryID=20060925-041535-4768r, (Consulted 06/10/06) Anonymous: 'Fans Flock to Munch Museum to see Damaged Scream, Madonna', *CBC News*, 2nd October 2006, www.cbc.ca/arts/story/2006/10/02/munch-museum-attendance.html?ref=rss, (Consulted 06/10/06)

-
- ⁷¹ – Rosenbaum, Lee: ‘Hermitage Unveils Damaged Danaë’, *Art In America*, Volume 85, Number 10, October 1997, p33
Danaë was slashed with a knife and doused with sulphuric acid in 1985. This case study is examined in Chapter Three.
- ⁷² – Correspondence with Oliver Fairclough, Keeper of Art at National Museum Wales, Cardiff, UK (Sent 24/08/06)
 Outsized artworks can be impossible to glaze because the weight of the glass creates a strain on the frame of the work. In addition, large sheets of glass can be difficult to source and they are expensive. These problems were highlighted in:
 Correspondence with Carolyn T. Thum, former Associate Registrar at The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, USA (Sent 04/10/05)
- ⁷³ – Quoted in:
 Rydon, John: ‘£1 million Old Master Slashed in National Gallery’, *The Daily Express*, 23rd March 1968, p-
 For further details of this episode see:
 Anonymous: ‘Painting by Vermeer is Slashed’, *The Times*, 23rd March 1968, p-
 Anonymous: ‘Why Vandalism?’, *The London Evening Standard*, 25th March 1968, p-
- ⁷⁴ – The painting was defaced with lipstick and pencil. This damage was brought to the author’s attention by:
 Correspondence with Penelope M. Smith, Registrar of Collections at Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, USA (Sent 14/10/05)
 Correspondence with Penelope M. Smith, Registrar of Collections at Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, USA (Sent 16/06/08)
- ⁷⁵ – This incident occurred on 11th January 1976. For details see:
 Fogarty, James: ‘Charge in Art Attack Dropped by ’72 Ruling’, *Omaha World-Herald*, 2nd February 1979, p-
 Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, pp192-193
 Moore, Bidez Embry: ‘Restored ‘Spring’ Returns to Joslyn’, *Sunday Omaha World-Herald Magazine*, 27th June 1976, p-
 Santiago, Frank: ‘Make-Believe Bomb Meant Trouble’, *Omaha World-Herald*, 23rd January 1976, p-
 Anonymous: ‘Man Facing Art Damage Charge’, *Omaha World-Herald*, 12th January 1976, p-
- ⁷⁶ – Martin: ‘Display Cases’, p51
- ⁷⁷ – Interview with William Brown, (Conducted 27/03/08)
- ⁷⁸ – Grigely, Joseph: *Textuality: Art, Theory, and Textual Criticism*, Ann Arbor, 1995, p76
- ⁷⁹ – Glazing materials are discussed further in:
 Burke and Adey: *A Manual of Basic Museum Security*, p20
 Freemantle, Rosie: ‘Glazing Over: A Review of Glazing Options for Works of Art on Paper’, *Tate Papers*, Spring 2005,
www.tate.org.uk/research/tateresearch/tatepapers/05spring/freemantle.htm,
 (Consulted 13/03/08)
 Phibbs, Hugh: ‘Anti-Reflective Glass and Acrylic for Preservation Framing’, *Picture Framing Magazine*, May 2003,
www.pictureframingmagazine.com/pdfs/prespract/may03_dppreservation.pdf,
 (Consulted 13/03/08)
Protecting Objects on Exhibition, Script for Educational Slide Show, produced by Elena Borowski, Office of Museum Programs, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, 1979, p5
- ⁸⁰ – Quoted in:
 Dornberg, John: ‘Deliberate Malice’, *Art News*, Volume 87, Number 8, October 1988, p65
- ⁸¹ – Earlier that year Munich’s Alte Pinakothek had been the target of a high profile acid attack, which disfigured three unglazed paintings by Dürer. For details see:

-
- Dornberg: 'Deliberate Malice', pp63-65
 Gorvy, Brett: 'Massacre of the Innocents', *The Antique Collector*, Volume 64, Number 4, April 1993, p60
 Goss: 'A Partial Guide to the Tools of Art Vandalism',
www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/3/toolsofartvandalism.php
 McKim-Smith, Gridley: 'The Rhetoric of Rape, the Language of Vandalism', *Woman's Art Journal*, Volume 23, Number 1, Spring-Summer 2002, p29
 Anonymous: 'German Art Vandal Back in Custody', *Artnet News*, 2nd August 2001,
www.artnet.com/Magazine/news/artnetnews/artnetnews8-2-01.asp, (Consulted 11/06/07)
 Anonymous: '3 Durer Masterpieces Vandalised with Acid', *The New York Times*, 22nd April 1988, p-
- ⁸² – This is verified by:
 Correspondence with Simon Cane, Head of Collection Care and Conservation at Birmingham Museums & Art Gallery, Birmingham, UK (Sent 09/11/05)
 Correspondence with Nicola Christie, Head of Paintings Conservation at National Museums Liverpool, Liverpool, UK (Sent 16/11/05)
 Correspondence with Lesley Stevenson, Senior Conservator of Paintings at National Galleries of Scotland, UK (Sent 08/11/05)
- ⁸³ – 'Minutes of Special Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 22nd May 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, p189
- ⁸⁴ – See:
 'Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 9th June 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, p192
 'Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 14th July 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, p195
 'Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 5th August 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, p203
- ⁸⁵ – The Cartoon sustained a small chain of scratches as a result of this attack. See:
 Anonymous: 'Bottle of Ink Thrown at Leonardo', *The Times*, 28th June 1962, p-
 It is thought that this damage occurred not due to a flaw in the actual screen, but because it was positioned too close to the artwork's surface. Indeed, when the Cartoon returned to display, the replacement screen was set at a greater distance from it. See:
 Anonymous: 'Leonardo on View Again', *The Times*, 6th July 1962, p-
- ⁸⁶ – Anonymous: 'Leonardo on View Again', p-
- ⁸⁷ – McFadden: 'Painting in Disputed Exhibit Attacked by Man at Museum', p-
- ⁸⁸ – This case study is examined in Chapter One.
- ⁸⁹ – Correspondence with Janet Tamblin, Keeper of Conservation at Plymouth City Museum & Art Gallery, Plymouth, UK (Sent 07/11/05)
- ⁹⁰ – See Chapter One.
- ⁹¹ – Anonymous: 'Guide to the Use of Barrier Rails or Ropes', *Museums, Libraries and Archives Council Website*,
www.mla.gov.uk/resources/assets//G/Guide_to_the_Use_of_Barrier_Rails_and_Ropes_10200.doc, (Consulted 21/01/08)
- ⁹² – A minimum distance of one metre between the partition and protected exhibit is a condition set by the Government Indemnity Scheme in cases where institutions wish to display indemnified material that is fragile, such as an unglazed painting. See:
 Anonymous: 'Government Indemnity Scheme: Standard Conditions',
www.mla.gov.uk/resources/assets//G/gis_stdcons_pdf_4690.pdf
- ⁹³ – Hoare: *Security for Museums*, pvii
- ⁹⁴ – Anonymous: 'Guide to the Use of Barrier Rails or Ropes',
www.mla.gov.uk/resources/assets//G/Guide_to_the_Use_of_Barrier_Rails_and_Ropes_10200.doc

-
- ⁹⁵ – *Protecting Objects on Exhibition*, Script for Educational Slide Show, p5
- ⁹⁶ – See Chapter One.
- ⁹⁷ – Variants of this proposal are mentioned in:
 Belcher, Michael: *Exhibitions in Museums*, Leicester, London and Washington DC, 1991, pp120-121
 Goldstein: *The Psychology of Vandalism*, p51
 On Guard, Script for Educational Programmes, p18
- ⁹⁸ – Belcher: *Exhibitions in Museums*, p121
- ⁹⁹ – Hoare: *Security for Museums*, pvii
 The use of floor designs in dissuading visitors from touching exhibits is also endorsed in:
 Ambrose and Paine: *Museum Basics*, p194
 Museums and Galleries Security Group: *Security in Museums, Archives and Libraries*, p81
- ¹⁰⁰ – ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and Protection*, p73
- ¹⁰¹ – Telephone Interview with Derek Pullen, Head of Sculpture Conservation at Tate, London, UK (Conducted 17/11/05)
- ¹⁰² – The unobtrusive protection measures in place at Kelvingrove were brought to the author's attention by:
 'Rethinking Museums: The Experience of Kelvingrove', Lecture by Mark O'Neill, Head of Arts & Museums at Glasgow City Council, University of St Andrews Museums, Galleries and Collections Institute 2nd Annual Public Lecture (Given in St Andrews, 04/10/06)
 Visit to Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow (Conducted 22/10/07)
 Visit to Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow (Conducted 01/09/08)
- ¹⁰³ – James, Merlin: 'A Visit to Kelvingrove', *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume CL, Number 1264, July 2008, pp477-478
- ¹⁰⁴ – Shone, Richard: 'Museums in Britain: Bouquets and Brickbats', *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume CXLIX, Number 1256, November 2007, p748
- ¹⁰⁵ – O'Neill, Mark: 'Kelvingrove Defended', *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume CL, Number 1262, May 2008, p330
- ¹⁰⁶ – Somewhat surprisingly, given Mark O'Neill's unwavering conviction, representatives from Kelvingrove were unwilling to comment on the effectiveness of unobtrusive protection when they were approached during the writing of this thesis.
- ¹⁰⁷ – See:
 Barker and Bridgeman: *Preventing Vandalism*, p14
 Cohen: 'Campaigning Against Vandalism', pp241-242
 Cohen, Stanley: 'The Politics of Vandalism, The Nature of Vandalism, Can It Be Controlled?', *New Society*, Number 324, 12th December 1968, p878
 Elsen, Albert: 'What We Have Learned about Modern Public Sculpture: Ten Propositions', *Art Journal*, Volume 48, Number 4, Winter 1989, p296
 Goldstein: *The Psychology of Vandalism*, p51
- ¹⁰⁸ – Barker and Bridgeman: *Preventing Vandalism*, p14
- ¹⁰⁹ – Correspondence with Carolyn T. Thum, (Sent 04/10/05)
- ¹¹⁰ – Grigely: *Textualterity*, p75
 A screen was installed around the base of *David* after it was attacked with a hammer on 14th September 1991. See Chapter One.
- ¹¹¹ – For details of this incident see:
 Gorvy: 'Massacre of the Innocents', p62
 Goss: 'A Partial Guide to the Tools of Art Vandalism',
 www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/3/toolsofartvandalism.php
 Anonymous: 'Rubens Burned as Protest', *The New York Times*, 15th June 1985, p-
 Anonymous: 'Rubens Fire 'A Protest'', *The Times*, 15th June 1985, p-

-
- Anonymous: 'Rubens Work is Burned', *The New York Times*, 14th June 1985, p-
- ¹¹² – Anonymous: 'Rubens Fire 'A Protest', p-
- ¹¹³ – Correspondence with Martyn Sodergren, Security Consultant at *Martyn Sodergren & Associates*, based in Orpington, UK (Sent 01/12/05)
- ¹¹⁴ – As a general trend, it appears that such incidents were more commonplace before electronic alarm systems were developed. This can be illustrated by attacks that took place at the National Gallery during the early 20th century. On 23rd January 1913 Ernest Welch managed to assault four paintings in succession. On 22nd May 1914 Freda Graham struck five works on display. On 12th December 1917 Robin Pearce damaged nine paintings in one iconoclastic spree. All three cases are mentioned in Chapter Two. During the second half of the 20th century, such episodes became less frequent. The last high profile one to affect the National Gallery occurred on 27th March 1982, when Paul Williams slashed both *Sun Rising Through Vapour* by Turner and *Landscape: The Marriage of Isaac and Rebekah (The Mill)* by Claude. See Chapter One.
- ¹¹⁵ – ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and Protection*, p179
- ¹¹⁶ – Mason, Donald L.: *The Fine Art of Art Security: Protecting Public and Private Collections against Theft, Fire, and Vandalism*, New York, 1979, p13
- ¹¹⁷ – Grimaldi, James V.: 'GAO Faults Smithsonian Upkeep and Security', *The Washington Post*, 29th September 2007, p-
- ¹¹⁸ – ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and Protection*, p180
- ¹¹⁹ – Mason: *The Fine Art of Art Security*, p15
- ¹²⁰ – These circumstances were brought to the author's attention by:
Correspondence with Carolyn T. Thum, (Sent 04/10/05)
Correspondence with Carolyn T. Thum, (Sent 22/05/08)
- ¹²¹ – Interview with William Brown, (Conducted 27/03/08)
- ¹²² – Burke and Adeloye: *A Manual of Basic Museum Security*, p49
- ¹²³ – For further information on pressure-sensitive mats see:
Burke and Adeloye: *A Manual of Basic Museum Security*, p49
Hoare: *Security for Museums*, pix
ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and Protection*, p186
Mason: *The Fine Art of Art Security*, p16 and p68
- ¹²⁴ – For further details see:
Burke and Adeloye: *A Manual of Basic Museum Security*, p52
ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and Protection*, p188
Schnabolk, Charles: 'Designing Security Alarm Systems for Libraries, Museums, and Art Facilities', *Museum, Archive, and Library Security*, ed. Lawrence J. Fennelly, Boston and London, 1983, p346
- ¹²⁵ – Hoare: *Security for Museums*, pix
For further discussion on the use of PIR sensors see:
Ambrose and Paine: *Museum Basics*, p195
ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and Protection*, p187
Mason: *The Fine Art of Art Security*, p35
- ¹²⁶ – For more information see:
Hoare: *Security for Museums*, px
ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and Protection*, p187
Mason: *The Fine Art of Art Security*, pp36-37 and pp39-40

-
- ¹²⁷ – See:
 Ambrose and Paine: *Museum Basics*, p195
 Burke and Adeloye: *A Manual of Basic Museum Security*, p51
 Hoare: *Security for Museums*, px
 Museums & Galleries Commission: *Improving Museum Security*, p11
- ¹²⁸ – See:
 Burke and Adeloye: *A Manual of Basic Museum Security*, p52
 ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and Protection*, p188
- ¹²⁹ – For more information on capacitance alarms see:
 Burke and Adeloye: *A Manual of Basic Museum Security*, pp52-53
 ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and Protection*, pp188-189
 Mason: *The Fine Art of Art Security*, pp33-34
 Schnabolok: 'Designing Security Alarm Systems', p346
- ¹³⁰ – ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and Protection*, pp188-189
- ¹³¹ – Hoare: *Security for Museums*, px
- ¹³² – In reality, budget cuts oblige some institutions to replace attendants with cameras, although most museum professionals acknowledge that these circumstances are far from ideal. See:
 Burroughs: 'Collection Protection', p29
 Correspondence with Simon Cane, (Sent 09/11/05)
- ¹³³ – Anonymous: 'Doubts over Effectiveness of CCTV Security Systems', *Museum Practice*, Issue 1, Volume 1, March 1996, p12
- ¹³⁴ – Anonymous: 'Security: Introduction', *Museum Practice*, Issue 8, Volume 3, Number 2, 1998, p42
- ¹³⁵ – See:
 Bremner, Charles: 'Vandals Leave a Poor Impression on Monet as Gallery Doors Fail', *The Times*, 9th October 2007, p-
 Anonymous: 'Gang Punches Hole in Monet Work', *BBC News*, 7th October 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/7033018.stm>, (Consulted 11/10/07)
- ¹³⁶ – Anonymous: 'Doubts over Effectiveness of CCTV Security Systems', p12
- ¹³⁷ – Flynn, Tom: 'Criminals Close in on Art to Finance Drugs and Arms', *Museums Journal*, December 2005, p8
- ¹³⁸ – Vogel, Carol: 'Vandals Attack Serrano Photo Exhibit in Sweden', *The New York Times*, 9th October 2007, p-
 Several framed photographs from the exhibition 'The History of Sex' were struck with crowbars and axes in the Kulturen Gallery in Lund on 5th October 2007. For further details see:
 Heilenman, Diane: 'Why Vandalize Art?', *The Courier-Journal*, 2nd December 2007, www.courier-journal.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20071202/SCENE05/712020310, (Consulted 19/12/07)
 Hind, John: 'Art Attack', *The Observer*, 27th January 2008, p-
 Westley, Hester: 'Is this the New Brutalism?', *The Times*, 31st October 2007, p-
- ¹³⁹ – For more information on such systems see:
 Ambrose and Paine: *Museum Basics*, p195
 Burroughs: 'Collection Protection', p29
 Hoare: *Security for Museums*, px
- ¹⁴⁰ – This is the time limit recommended by the Home Office:
 Interview with William Brown, (Conducted 27/03/08)
- ¹⁴¹ – Goldstein: *The Psychology of Vandalism*, p52
- ¹⁴² – Hoare: *Security for Museums*, px

-
- ¹⁴³ – Grimaldi: ‘GAO Faults Smithsonian Upkeep and Security’, p-
- ¹⁴⁴ – Interview with William Brown, (Conducted 27/03/08)
- ¹⁴⁵ – See:
 ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and Protection*, p73
 Mason: *The Fine Art of Art Security*, p68
 Museums & Galleries Commission: *Improving Museum Security*, p16
 Interview with William Brown, (Conducted 27/03/08)
 Correspondence with Simon Cane, (Sent 09/11/05)
 Correspondence with Michael Langston, Head of Visitor, Gallery and Security Services at Ulster Museum, Belfast, UK (Sent 04/11/05)
- ¹⁴⁶ – To strengthen this sense of universal duty, some security experts suggest that employees’ routes around institutions should run through galleries instead of stay behind the scenes. The more members of staff that walk through displays, the more likely it is that hazards will be noticed. See:
 Museums & Galleries Commission: *Improving Museum Security*, p14
- ¹⁴⁷ – Anonymous: ‘Government Indemnity Scheme: Standard Conditions’,
www.mla.gov.uk/resources/assets/G/gis_stdcons_pdf_4690.pdf
- ¹⁴⁸ – McFadden: ‘Painting in Disputed Exhibit Attacked by Man at Museum’, p-
- ¹⁴⁹ – Anonymous: ‘Painting by Vermeer is Slashed’, p-
- ¹⁵⁰ – Heimberg, Bruno: ‘The Munich Dürer Attack: Conservation and Restoration of the Damaged Panels’, *Cleaning, Retouching and Coatings: Technology and Practice for Easel Paintings and Polychrome Sculpture*, eds. John S. Mills and Perry Smith, Preprints of the Contributions to the Brussels Congress, The International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, 3rd – 7th September 1990, London, 1990, p184
- ¹⁵¹ – The types of behaviour that attendants should look out for are mentioned in:
 Ambrose and Paine: *Museum Basics*, p196
 ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and Protection*, p72
- ¹⁵² – Fine, Gary Alan and Shatin, Deborah: ‘Crimes Against Art: Social Meanings and Symbolic Attacks’, *Empirical Studies of the Arts*, Volume 3, 1985, p139
 See Chapter One for further details.
- ¹⁵³ – Quoted in:
 Anonymous: ‘Self-Portrait at the Age of 63’, *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, <http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/rembrandt1.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)
 This case study is mentioned in Chapter One.
- ¹⁵⁴ – In Britain, museum staff are no more legally entitled to overpower iconoclasts than any member of the public. They are, however, able to make citizen’s arrests. As the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 states: “Any person may use such force as is reasonable in effecting or assisting in the lawful arrest of a suspected offender”. For details on both the legal implications of overpowering assailants and training for attendants see:
 Museums and Galleries Security Group: *Security in Museums, Archives and Libraries*, pp90-94
- ¹⁵⁵ – In the USA the question of whether some gallery attendants should be armed is raised periodically. Most experts agree that weapons should not be carried, but a few institutions may consider this approach. See:
 Burke and Adeloye: *A Manual of Basic Museum Security*, p14
 Dolnick: ‘Meanwhile: Art Wants to be Free’, p-
 O’Connor, Anne-Marie: ‘Guns Guard Damien Hirst’s Lamb at BCAM’, *Los Angeles Times*, 31st May 2008, www.latimes.com/entertainment/news/la-et-guns31-2008may31,0,3271182.story?track=ntothtml, (Consulted 22/09/08)

-
- ¹⁵⁶ – See:
 McFadden: ‘Painting in Disputed Exhibit Attacked by Man at Museum’, p-
 Anonymous: ‘Vandal Attacks Ofili Madonna’, *Art in America*, Volume 88, Number
 2, February 2000, p31
- ¹⁵⁷ – Trodd, Mark: ‘Check Point: Procuring Security Systems and Services’, *Museum
 Practice*, Issue 8, Volume 3, Number 2, 1998, p55
- ¹⁵⁸ – For further discussion on this subject see:
 Burke and Adeleye: *A Manual of Basic Museum Security*, pp10-11
 ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and
 Protection*, pp65-67
 Trodd: ‘Check Point’, p55
- ¹⁵⁹ – Mulhearn, Deborah: ‘The Front Line’, *Museums Journal*, January 2008, p35
 For further reading on the expanding role of gallery attendants see:
 Belcher: *Exhibitions in Museums*, p121
 Butler, Toby: ‘Front-line Troops’, *Museums Journal*, May 2001, pp26-27
 Flynn: ‘Criminals Close in on Art to Finance Drugs and Arms’, p8
 Rutledge: ‘The Many Facets of a Museum Security Director’s Job’, p19
- ¹⁶⁰ – Falk and Dierking: *The Museum Experience*, pp86-87
- ¹⁶¹ – See:
 Belcher: *Exhibitions in Museums*, p121
 Burke and Adeleye: *A Manual of Basic Museum Security*, p14
 Falk and Dierking: *The Museum Experience*, p87
 Mason: *The Fine Art of Art Security*, p47
 Museums & Galleries Commission: *Improving Museum Security*, p16
- ¹⁶² – Mulhearn: ‘The Front Line’, p34
- ¹⁶³ – Hoare: *Security for Museums*, pvii
- ¹⁶⁴ – The potential security risk that is posed by attendants assuming a more interpretive role
 is examined further in:
 Burroughs: ‘Foiling Thieves’, pp32-35
- ¹⁶⁵ – Ward, Robert and Howgill, Pat: ‘Security Audits: Assessing Risks and Threats’, *Museum
 Practice*, Issue 8, Volume 3, Number 2, 1998, p45
- ¹⁶⁶ – An effective model for an in-house security survey is provided by the Museum of
 London. See:
 Payton, Rob: ‘Safety by Numbers’, *Museum Practice*, Issue 22, Spring 2003, pp40-42
 For further advice on conducting surveys see:
 Menkes, Diana (ed.): *Museum Security Survey*, trans. Marthe de Moltke, International
 Committee on Museum Security, International Council of Museums, Paris, 1981
 Ward and Howgill: ‘Security Audits’, pp45-46
- ¹⁶⁷ – Museums & Galleries Commission: *Improving Museum Security*, p21
- ¹⁶⁸ – *Ibid.*, p21
- ¹⁶⁹ – ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and
 Protection*, pp47-48
- ¹⁷⁰ – Burke and Adeleye: *A Manual of Basic Museum Security*, p9
- ¹⁷¹ – The issues that an emergency plan should cover are related in:
 Burke and Adeleye: *A Manual of Basic Museum Security*, p76
 ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and
 Protection*, pp296-298
On Guard, Script for Educational Programmes, p15
- ¹⁷² – Burke and Adeleye: *A Manual of Basic Museum Security*, p75
- ¹⁷³ – Anonymous: ‘Security: Introduction’, p42
- ¹⁷⁴ – For further advice on familiarising staff with emergency plans see:
 Museums & Galleries Commission: *Improving Museum Security*, p17
 Museums & Galleries Commission: ‘Security is Everybody’s Business’, p237
 Anonymous: ‘Security: Introduction’, p42

-
- ¹⁷⁵ – These trials are being overseen by the MLA National Security Adviser:
Interview with William Brown, (Conducted 27/03/08)
- ¹⁷⁶ – Interview with William Brown, (Conducted 27/03/08)
- ¹⁷⁷ – Kimmelman: ‘A Symbol of Freedom and a Target for Terrorists’, p-

Chapter Five

Responding to Art Vandalism in British Museums and Galleries: A Survey of the Current Situation

Introduction

The deliberate damage or destruction of an artwork in a cultural institution by a member of the public is not an everyday occurrence. Incidents are sufficiently rare that some institutions do not entertain this possibility, let alone consider their potential responses. As one independent gallery director remarked when surveyed on the matter: “I do not see it as an issue at all”. Yet, when art vandalism does occur, the physical, financial and social damage incurred can be serious. Moreover, harm can be exacerbated by inappropriate or simply unrehearsed responses. Nell Hoare describes “the disease of creeping complacency” as one of the most significant threats facing collections.¹ Today’s museum sector can ill-afford to succumb to this condition; limited resources are a widespread concern, and accountability is increasingly the watchword. Art vandalism is a risk that should not be disregarded, however uncommon it may be.

Responding to Art Vandalism in British Museums and Galleries was a postal survey of UK institutions that set out to improve understanding of the issue, and to encourage its further examination (Appendices 1 and 2). The survey had two main aims. Firstly, it sought to gauge the current nature and extent of vandalism perpetrated against artworks. Secondly, it sought to determine the range of contemporary professional responses to the problem. Current responses were deemed particularly worthy of inquiry on account of the changes that have taken place over the last decade both in museum access and educational strategies and in security technology. It was envisaged that investigating this area could provide insight into effective means of combating art vandalism in the 21st century.

While a growing number of researchers from various disciplines have turned their attention to the destruction of art in recent years, published surveys on the phenomenon remain scarce. The most significant UK study to date is *Art Vandalism* by Christopher Cordess and Maja Turcan.² For this survey, a questionnaire was posted to 92 randomly selected institutions in England, Scotland and Wales, with the intention of establishing “the present-day prevalence and patterns of art vandalism

and the characteristics of the perpetrators”.³ 60 questionnaires were returned, and the authors concluded that attacks are “not unusual”, but are “more often minor than major” in character.⁴ Like Cordess and Turcan’s 1993 project, *Responding to Art Vandalism* aimed to identify the contemporary profile of its subject by concentrating on events of the preceding decade. It sought to bring research up to date by examining incidents arising between 1997 and 2006.

The dearth of recent surveys that address the prevalence of art vandalism and professional attitudes towards it might be explained by the obstacles inherent in such a study. Since there is no universally recognised means of recording data about assaults, it is impossible to estimate the extent of the problem reliably, let alone quantify it precisely. This uncertainty is heightened by the reluctance of galleries to discuss occurrences openly. As John Conklin points out, many acts of vandalism are never even reported, such is the determination of museums not to draw attention to their vulnerability.⁵ Accurate responses to episodes can be equally difficult to elucidate, since many institutions are, understandably, unwilling to divulge their security arrangements. It could be argued that developments like the passing of the Freedom of Information Act 2000 are starting to expose the issue to public scrutiny.⁶ At present, though, art vandalism remains an elusive phenomenon to assess.

For these reasons, *Responding to Art Vandalism* never set out to be definitive, either as a reflection of the current scale of the crime, or as an account of how the sector reacts to it. It strove to present an independent impression of trends in the field, and to stimulate further discussion.

Terminology is another hurdle that makes art vandalism complicated to survey. The misinterpretation of concepts, or indeed questions, by participants is a common snag with postal surveys. *Responding to Art Vandalism* proved to be no exception. Although participants were instructed that the study was concerned strictly with attacks on fine art, several gave details of assaults on decorative art and furniture. ‘Art’ is understood differently by different people.

Finding terminology for the act of destruction is even more problematic. As explained previously, ‘vandalism’ is an inappropriate term to use when discussing the deliberate damage of paintings, sculptures and installations in cultural institutions. ‘Iconoclasm’ is a preferable substitute.⁷ However, while this project was being devised, it was judged that using the latter phrase might mislead some respondents. They might have assumed that the survey referred to attacks in a purely religious

context. A detailed definition of iconoclasm at the start of the questionnaire could have avoided misinterpretation, but this suggestion was ruled out by the worry that it would only confuse institutions and discourage participation. Ultimately, the expression ‘vandalism’ was employed instead, since its meaning is accepted more unequivocally by the majority of the population. It was hoped that the questionnaire and its accompanying documentation would eliminate any lingering ambiguity; indicating that the research was concerned with conscious interference undertaken by people who lack the authority of owners or guardians, i.e. members of the public. For the most part, the survey results signal that these parameters were conveyed successfully. Although ‘vandalism’ and ‘vandal’ remain improper terms, they are used in place of ‘iconoclasm’ and ‘iconoclast’ throughout this chapter to maintain consistency with the questionnaire.

Method

From the outset, it was decided that the survey subject should be approached from a number of angles, as this would allow a more holistic picture to emerge, and so facilitate greater understanding. The questionnaire was arranged accordingly into four thematic areas: respondent details; instances of art vandalism; responding to art vandalism; and opinions on art vandalism. This chapter follows the same structure, covering each section in turn. Firstly, though, context to the analysis should be provided by outlining some methodological issues relating to composition and distribution.

Art vandalism is a sensitive topic for cultural institutions. To achieve a significant response rate it was crucial that the questionnaire’s content and tone were tailored appropriately. Questions on delicate points, like the effectiveness of preventative measures, were posed in such a way that they did not require respondents to reveal institutional policy or practice. Rather, they requested personal opinions. In a similar style, participants were permitted to answer questions anonymously. They were reassured that if identities were provided they would not be disclosed outside the survey team or used in this report. Although completion of all questions was encouraged, participants were free to omit any that they felt uncomfortable answering. To inspire confidence further, they were informed that the venture had been approved by the School of Art History Ethics Committee, a subsidiary of the University of St Andrews Teaching and Research Ethics Committee. Piloting the survey with local

museums enabled any remaining oversights to be identified and remedied before the questionnaire was distributed.

The sample of 250 establishments that received a questionnaire was drawn from those listed in *Museums & Galleries Yearbook 2006*.⁸ For eligible selection they had to be situated in the UK, and they had to display collections or exhibitions of fine art to the public. Within these criteria, the aim was to contact a range of institutions diverse in location and size. The sample included galleries in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, and featured museums from most major cities, as well as towns and rural areas. Recipients were chosen from across the country, from Stromness in the north to Penzance in the south.

In addition, it was intended that the survey sample should be broadly representative of the spread of different types of museum. The UK-wide representation of each category (national, local authority, independent, university and other) was derived from the Digest of Museum Statistics (DOMUS) and applied proportionally to a sample of 250.⁹ Unfortunately, it proved impossible to reproduce these proportions precisely in the actual sample, as not enough independent premises fulfilled the specified criteria. It was also considered necessary to send questionnaires to a higher number of national institutions than was proportionate, since they are the most experienced in tackling high profile art vandalism. These circumstances resulted in a survey sample that did not represent its population absolutely. Nevertheless, it had the potential to be as well-informed as possible.

Questionnaires were mailed to the directors (or equivalent) of institutions, with instructions that they either answered questions themselves or forwarded the document to staff with the most relevant experience. To minimise any bias, an emphatic request was made that all surveyed museums and galleries should respond, irrespective of whether they had been subject to attacks. Questionnaires were sent in mid August 2006, with a return date of 16th October 2006. Reminder letters were posted in late October, and the last completed form was received in mid December. The data was collated, coded and analysed thereafter.

Respondent Details

Of the 250 institutions that were contacted, 135 participated in *Responding to Art Vandalism*. This gave a response rate of 54%. Of the 115 that did not contribute, 26 gave written explanations. Several regretted that they could not be involved because

of staff shortages or an increased workload. Others felt that participation was inappropriate for reasons of security and confidentiality. For example, one head of visitor services and security said that it was against institutional policy to allow information on criminal damage into the public domain.

The first section of the questionnaire had two concerns: determining the types of people and institutions that were participating, and investigating how readily they would discuss the issue at hand. Those individuals who felt able to take part were relatively forthcoming in providing their identities. 116 respondents provided their names (Q1.1 'Your name' - Figure 1), while 122 disclosed their professional positions (Q1.2 'Your position within institution' - Figure 2).¹⁰ The majority of respondents (32) held curatorial posts, although a wide range of staff completed questionnaires. Indeed, 18 people gave miscellaneous answers concerning their positions, including 'Officer of Exhibitions', 'Officer of Development' and 'Officer of Visual Arts'. Such diversity was a significant boon for the survey, as it meant that subsequent questions were approached from an array of perspectives. 123 respondents provided the name of the institution in which they worked (Q1.3 'Institution name' - Figure 3). It is encouraging that so many felt that they could be frank about their involvement in the survey, given its sensitive subject matter. But then, the act of returning the questionnaire was, in itself, an indicator of their willingness to enter into the debate.

132 people categorised their institutions (Q1.4 'Institution type' - Figure 4). Despite the aforementioned difficulties in composing a sample that was proportionally representative of the UK museum population, the breakdown of participating establishments by type is broadly similar to DOMUS figures. Greater accuracy could have been achieved had more independent institutions returned their questionnaires. However, this deficit could have been expected. Compared to national and local authority museums, independents have little obligation to fulfil such public requests.

Instances of Art Vandalism

The second part of the questionnaire dealt with the frequency and nature of attacks undertaken in galleries; an issue much closer to the nerve than the gathering of respondent details.

At an early stage in the data analysis process it came to light that many institutions do not appear to keep records of incidents of art vandalism.¹¹ Several respondents admitted that their case studies derived from vague personal memories

instead. For example, an “indefinite number of attacks on paintings of local views by someone who made a large number of fine scratches” was reported as having occurred over an unspecified time period by one individual. This was a particular problem for Question 2.1, which attempted to ascertain the general scale of the crime at each institution. One might have assumed that subsequent questions would be easier to answer, since they centred on events of the last ten years. However, difficulties continued to surface. One participant apologised that, although she could relate episodes of the past five years, she could not account for those predating 2001. Whether due to staff movement or a previous lack of record keeping, her predicament was not isolated.

Some other respondents misrepresented their experiences. The spokesperson for one independent gallery asserted that they had never endured an attack, despite the contradictory existence of press reports recounting two high profile cases, the latter of which occurred in 2003. Even if this discrepancy was an oversight, it casts an element of doubt over the answers of other institutions. These complications should be borne in mind when studying the findings of this section.

Answering Question 2.1, 70 respondents claimed that their museums had never suffered any instances of art vandalism (Q2.1 ‘Approximately how many instances of art vandalism have occurred in your institution?’ - Figure 5). When asked about incidents during the last 10 years, the majority of individuals (67) again reported that they had no experience of the problem (Q2.2 ‘How many have occurred within the last 10 years (since January 1997)?’ - Figure 6). Of the 51 who had encountered cases in the last decade, most had knowledge of 1-2 offences. From these statistics it is reasonable to deduce that the phenomenon is not widespread. Even so, the extent of vandalism detailed is significant. 40.5% of those who answered Question 2.2 acknowledged that their institutions had suffered at least once in the last 10 years. If respondents erred on the side of caution in their answers, out of either uncertainty or denial over past episodes, a more accurate figure might be higher still.

Referring back to Question 1.4 pinpoints the targets of destruction more specifically. 100% of representatives from national museums or galleries indicated that their collections had been subject to vandalism within the past decade. 33.3% of local authority institutions, 26.5% of independent institutions, 63.6% of university

institutions and 23.1% of other institutions revealed the same. This suggests that certain categories of museum are more prone to attacks than others.

It is unsurprising that national premises should be the most likely to attract vandals. They normally boast the largest collections of the most revered artworks, and tend to draw the greatest numbers of visitors. However, the relatively high rate of attacks that take place in university galleries is interesting. One might have guessed that local authority institutions would be the second most common victims, simply by virtue of their high degree of representation. But several respondents outlined a different story. The curator at one university described an incident in which glasses and a moustache were drawn onto a 19th century portrait in felt-tip pen, apparently as “an end-of-term prank”. Another participant highlighted the threat posed by students more explicitly. He recalled that a sculpture of Edward VIII had been decapitated repeatedly by politically motivated students, and that a painting had been harmed during a food-fight in a hall of residence. These two cases took place outwith the university art gallery, but they are noteworthy because they confirm a wider pattern of damage undertaken by students. This might explain why university museums have such a propensity to be targeted. If a culture of destruction, or at least ‘high-spirits’, exists in the surrounding environment, then presumably displays will face a heightened risk of abuse. Another suggestion for this trend comes from a financial perspective. Compared to other parts of the sector, maybe university institutions have fewer resources to combat the problem, which makes them more vulnerable. While this proposal is speculative, it is well-recognised that inadequate funding is a serious concern among this contingent.¹²

Some dominant trends also emerged from questions on the nature of offences. According to the results of Question 2.3 (Q2.3 ‘Which of the following have occurred within the last 10 years?’ - Figures 7a and 7b), the three commonest types of vandalism are attacks involving pen or pencil, attacks consisting of scratching or scoring with a sharp instrument and attacks involving food or drink, including chewing gum. No institutions reported episodes featuring either a hammer or club, or hazardous chemicals like acids. In their survey, Cordess and Turcan separate destructive incidents into ‘minor’ and ‘major’ categories, depending primarily on the sort of weapon used.¹³ The cases recorded in *Responding to Art Vandalism* were defined similarly. ‘Minor’ incidents included attacks involving pen or pencil, scratching or scoring with a sharp instrument, food or drink, and bodily functions

such as spitting or urinating. ‘Major’ incidents were assaults involving physical violence (for example pushing or kicking), a knife or blade or scissors, a hammer or club, nearby furniture, a firearm, paint or spray paint, hazardous chemicals, and arson. When this categorisation was applied to the results of Question 2.3, it showed that 75 (67.0%) reported crimes were of a minor nature, and 28 (25.0%) could be classed as major.¹⁴

These statistics support Dario Gamboni’s assertion that “a vast amount of damage [...] is of the ‘petty’ type”, caused by chewing gum, lipstick or ink.¹⁵ Unlike major cases, minor art vandalism is mostly opportunistic and surreptitious in character. Quite often, the act is executed swiftly, and the damage is not noticed immediately by staff. Such an incident was described by one respondent from a local authority museum, where a score measuring 7cm was inflicted on a 19th century oil painting that hung in a quiet part of the building. Despite CCTV surveillance, the injury went unidentified until some time later.

Episodes involving food and drink should be the most straightforward of these minor acts to curb; a visitor with an ice cream is a visible threat that attendants ought to be able to contain. Yet, while bans on eating and drinking inside galleries are enforced routinely, the presence of chewing gum can be hard to eradicate. The assistant director of one museum described an occasion when someone pressed gum inside the nostrils of an 18th century terracotta bust. Another respondent from a national institution referred to the ubiquity of chewing gum as a “menace”. The hazard created by food and drink is at its worst when museums operate cafés in close proximity to exhibits or hire out display spaces for private functions. Since these practices both provide revenue and enhance public access, paring back on them is not a realistic solution. However, institutions contemplating the introduction of cafés or function facilities should at least consider the potential impact on exhibits.¹⁶

Three questions in the survey sought to determine the types of artworks at highest risk of vandalism. Paintings and sculptures were revealed as most likely to be harmed, with 66.7% of cases involving them (Q2.4 ‘Which of the following types of artwork have suffered vandalism within the last 10 years?’ - Figures 8a and 8b).¹⁷ It could be argued that this is due to the fragility of the media. Certainly, a significant number of attacks that were described in detail concerned either unglazed paintings or delicate sculptures. But these results might equally be explained by the usual predominance of paintings and sculptures in fine art collections. Indeed, perhaps so

few assaults on murals were reported simply because murals tend to be site specific and are infrequently located in museums.

A comparable rationale could be applied to the data from Question 2.5, which indicated that portraits and figurative themes attract vandals most often (Q2.5 ‘Which of the following types of subject matter of artwork have suffered vandalism within the last 10 years?’ - Figures 9a and 9b). After all, representations of people are extremely common in galleries. This pattern has other plausible interpretations though. David Freedberg has reflected extensively on the destruction of human imagery. In these situations, he asserts that a perpetrator will often strike out of desire to harm the unavailable person who is depicted. The signifier and signified become fused in the assailant’s mind.¹⁸ This theory possibly accounts for a case study provided by a military institution, in which a visitor used a sharp instrument to scratch out the face of a photograph of John Major. It would be a mistake to explain all such incidents in these terms. Nevertheless, attacks on images of people have occurred throughout history, and many of them have concentrated on the face and eyes.¹⁹ Several survey participants mentioned episodes where eyes were targeted; in one instance the eye of a female figure in a painting was pierced by someone with a pen or pencil. It seems likely that there is something more to this trend than the prevalence of figurative art alone.

Question 2.6 yielded interesting results (Q2.6 ‘Which of the following ages of artwork have suffered vandalism within the last 10 years?’ - Figure 10). Respondents reported significantly more assaults on art dating from recent centuries than assaults on older works. Scholars disagree over where the greater risk lies. John Dornberg insists that modern, contemporary and avant-garde pieces are “more vulnerable to attack than those of the old masters”.²⁰ On the other hand, Brett Gorvy argues that old master pictures “constitute a high proportion of art casualties” due to their “authoritarian overtones”.²¹ The findings of the survey corroborate Dornberg’s view.

There are various reasons for this. Modern and contemporary art often has controversial content, which can offend visitors. Viewers may also be stirred to violence by formal considerations. Sometimes they resent the high prices paid for art that appears to demonstrate little craftsmanship; on other occasions they dispute whether works constitute ‘art’ at all. Ultimately, many visitors find these types of exhibits incomprehensible, especially when interpretation is minimal. As one

education officer observed in the survey: “Conceptual art can be quite threatening to the uninitiated”.

The willingness of so many respondents to share information in this section of the questionnaire was encouraging from a research perspective. Almost one third chose to provide further details of incidents that had taken place in their institutions (Q2.7 ‘Any other comments on the identities of damaged artworks, the actions of assailants, the extent of damage caused, etc?’ - Figure 11). These case studies proved extremely enlightening, not least in illustrating the diversity of the problem. In one independent museum alone, attacks ranged from a painting being marked with pencil to a wicker sculpture being burned in the museum grounds. With such a breadth of damage having occurred over the past decade, an equally varied set of procedural responses were anticipated.

Responding to Art Vandalism

The third section of the questionnaire was essentially the crux of the survey: establishing how museums and galleries react to vandalism. Participants were instructed that they should only complete this part if they had experience of attacks in the last 10 years. Accordingly, the maximum number eligible to answer each question was 59.²² This reduced sample frame should be recognised in relation to the following results.

In 1993 Cordess and Turcan’s *Art Vandalism* concluded that most people responsible for injuring art are never caught and prosecuted.²³ These circumstances have not changed in the intervening years. Of those who answered Question 3.1, 42 (77.8%) said that the majority of vandals were never identified (Q3.1 ‘Were the majority of assailants identified?’ - Figure 12). 32.1% of institutions that had suffered major cases of destruction had identified the majority of assailants. This was slightly higher than the 22.7% that had endured minor cases and identified the majority of assailants. Major acts tend to be undertaken conspicuously and are normally investigated more thoroughly than minor ones, so it is unsurprising that perpetrators of these crimes are more likely to be discovered. Overall, though, levels of identification remain worryingly low.

Even fewer respondents stated that most perpetrators were taken to court (Q3.2 ‘Were the majority of assailants criminally prosecuted?’ - Figure 13). Only 2 individuals answered Question 3.2 affirmatively, and both had experienced major

episodes of vandalism. Although prosecutions were successful in each instance, (Q3.3 'If yes, were the majority of prosecutions successful in outcome?' - Figure 14), sentences were imposed for associated crimes, like armed robbery and motoring offences (Q3.4 'If yes, what sentences did assailants receive?' - Figure 15). Not one example was given where someone was prosecuted for the harm that they had inflicted on an artwork.²⁴ Indeed, when the answers to Questions 3.1 and 3.2 were compared, it showed that most galleries which identified the majority of art vandals chose not to pursue legal action in the majority of cases.

There are credible explanations for this state of affairs. Perhaps targeted museums wished to avoid the negative publicity that can accompany high profile court cases. Or maybe they reasoned that it was not worthwhile spending resources on potentially lengthy legal proceedings when crimes were either minor or isolated in nature. This is particularly tenable considering the leniency of most sentences meted out for art vandalism.²⁵ Since few participants commented in detail on the apprehension of attackers, such possibilities are conjectural. However, it is noteworthy that one respondent who did remark on the matter complained that museums were under-supported by the authorities. She illustrated her point with an example in which a culprit was identified with CCTV footage, but was never reprimanded because police failed to take the episode seriously. In the survey she called for a campaign to raise awareness of art vandalism among police forces. With greater backing, higher numbers of victimised galleries might be emboldened to seek prosecutions.

Participants were more forthcoming on the subject of measures that can be taken internally to combat deliberate damage. While opinions on different strategies were addressed in the final section of the questionnaire, rates of implementation were revealing in their own right.

Of those who answered Question 3.5, 35 (64.8%) asserted that security arrangements had been enhanced due to assaults in the last 10 years (Q3.5 'Were security procedures in your institution enhanced as a direct consequence of these attacks?' - Figure 16). This course of action adheres to the advice of most security experts, who advocate that procedures should be reviewed and upgraded continually in light of potential threats.²⁶ Further analysis of data showed that 83.3% of institutions that had suffered a high number of attacks (those who claimed to have experienced 6-10, 11-15, or in excess of 15 instances) had augmented security, while

only 60.0% of institutions with a low occurrence rate (those who claimed to have experienced 1-2 or 3-5 instances) had made changes. This finding needs little interpretation. The more frequently incidents of vandalism occur, the greater a priority it becomes to safeguard collections. The severity of damage also has a bearing on whether security is boosted. Galleries that had been subject to major acts of violence proved more likely to react in this way than those that reported minor episodes. An illuminating case study was provided by the head of curatorial services at a local authority gallery. She explained that although most of the 11-15 incidents that had occurred there were minor, their prevalence had provoked an increase in security. More pictures were glazed, barriers were introduced and the use of surveillance cameras was extended.

An intriguing aspect of these results concerned the propensity of different categories of museum to improve security after an attack. Whereas the majority of national, local authority, independent and other institutions reacted by heightening protective arrangements, most university establishments did not. Only 28.6% of them upgraded security following an outbreak of vandalism. Again, it appears that university museums are particularly ill-equipped to deal with this problem.

Question 3.6 sought to gather more specific data on the types of procedures that were strengthened (Q3.6 'If yes, what types of security procedures were enhanced?' - Figures 17a and 17b). Among the measures implemented most often were those relating to invigilation. Better invigilation of visitors and collections is promoted by security experts as one of the most effective means of deterring opportunistic vandals.²⁷ It can be an expensive option for galleries if they plan to employ larger teams of attendants, but revising the rotation of existing staff is a less costly step that can also have a positive impact.

In contrast to the widespread use of security enhancement, very few respondents had explored educational schemes in their efforts to counter art vandalism. Answering Question 3.7, only 7 (13.2%) individuals said that visitor educational projects had been introduced after episodes of vandalism in the last decade (Q3.7 'Were visitor educational projects implemented as a direct consequence of these attacks?' - Figure 18).

There were some examples of experimentation in this area. The assistant keeper of fine art from one independent museum reported that, following two minor incidents, supplementary information had been added to interpretive displays alerting

visitors to the damage that can be caused by touching exhibits. Nevertheless, the results of Question 3.8 demonstrate clearly how rarely such methods are employed (Q3.8 'If yes, what types of educational projects were implemented?' - Figure 19). The initiative endorsed most frequently was the use of labels reading: 'Please don't touch'. But, without an adequate explanation, these are more of a warning than an educational tool.²⁸

It is possible that some representatives were unaware of educational ventures being run at their institutions; only 2 described their professional positions as 'Education Officer'. Yet, in Question 3.7, no one admitted to not knowing if such schemes had been implemented. Another set of conclusions seem more probable: at best, education is a predominantly untapped mode of response, and, at worst, a fundamental scepticism surrounds its value in curbing assaults. Stanley Cohen remarked in 1973 that "Education initiatives raise people's awareness of the problem, however they seem to have few long term effects in reducing the overall amount of vandalism".²⁹ This comment dates from over thirty years ago, and was made with reference to property destruction in the wider community, but it remains analogous with many contemporary views on the role of education in tackling art vandalism.

Several respondents outlined reactions that were orientated neither towards security nor education (Q3.9 'Has your institution responded to these attacks in any other ways?' - Figures 20a and 20b). It is difficult to discern any dominant trends among them. Most strategies were miscellaneous, such as erecting chastising notices at the scenes of incidents, appealing to higher authorities like the Arts Council for support and increasing internal publicity to boost staff awareness. A few people mentioned that collections management practices had been improved as a consequence of assaults. One local authority museum established a photographic database of their entire display collection after an unglazed 20th century oil painting was damaged by a visitor. However, institutions responded negatively to attacks in just as many cases. When some figurative sculptures were pushed over and covered in graffiti outside a university arts centre, it was decided that the gallery would no longer stage outdoor exhibitions.

Opinions on Art Vandalism

Responding to Art Vandalism was devised to establish how museums deal with destructive behaviour, but it also aimed to gauge professional attitudes to the problem.

This was the focus of the fourth section of the questionnaire. ‘Opinions on Art Vandalism’ was open to all respondents, not only those who had encountered vandalism in the last 10 years. Full participation was encouraged to ascertain how inexperienced institutions might react to an attack, and to shed light on why experienced institutions respond as they do.

Examining the perceived motivations behind assaults was particularly enlightening. Those who answered Question 4.1 judged the main driving forces to be destruction for destruction’s sake, mental disturbance and accident (Q4.1 ‘What are the main motivations behind art vandalism?’ - Figures 21a and 21b). Harming exhibits accidentally is not strictly vandalism as determined by the survey, since it is not conscious interference. Indeed, by definition, ‘Accident’ is not a motivation. This category was included to acknowledge the wider context of damage that can occur in galleries, thus enabling respondents to consider the other suggested motives in perspective. The high proportion who selected ‘Accident’ indicates that this was necessary. As the head of collections at a national museum reported, many instances of damage are the result of inadvertent actions rather than malicious, or even deliberate, intentions. Some respondents told of perpetrators who were actually unaware that they had caused any injury.

‘Mental disturbance’ was another recurring answer to Question 4.1. One local authority institution provided an example in which a mentally ill visitor carried out a physical assault on a sculpture after becoming obsessed with the artist. 52 people cited mental disturbance as a principal motivation. Yet it is unclear how many based this opinion on factual evidence, and how many assumed it simply as a convenient explanation for the phenomenon. Very few referred to individuals who had defaced works of art being certified.

A result of equal concern was the revelation that 82 (60.7%) respondents believed that destruction for destruction’s sake was a main stimulus behind the mutilation of art. Vandalism is stereotyped pervasively as a “meaningless, senseless or wanton” crime.³⁰ The explanation ‘Destruction for destruction’s sake’ perpetuates this outlook, as it implies that such behaviour is motiveless. It is true that not all vandals adhere to clear-cut principles, like political agitation or maintaining moral standards. Nevertheless, vandalism is always undertaken with an intention, even if it is simply to impress peers, alleviate boredom, or create certain visual, tactile or auditory sensations.³¹ It is likely that the survey participants who gave this answer

did so because reasons for offences are not always readily apparent or available. It is worth remembering how few respondents identified attackers, let alone had the opportunity to hear explanations for their conduct in court.

Belief in motiveless destruction for destruction's sake is understandable, but the prevalence of this conviction among museum professionals has grave consequences. It discourages institutions from seeking the underlying causes of the problem. This could explain why it is so unusual for galleries to initiate educational projects in the wake of attacks; if a crime is deemed to be senseless, little advantage will be seen in trying to educate potential criminals. Such attitudes present a serious psychological barrier to developing methods of prevention.

These findings suggest that motive is a subject that requires greater consideration by the museum sector. However, data gleaned from the next question proved regrettably futile in establishing the extent to which culprits' rationales have changed over the last decade (Q4.2 'Do you think that the main motivations behind instances of art vandalism have altered within the last 10 years?' - Figure 22). With hindsight, this was a shortcoming of the survey. Question 4.2 would have yielded more valuable answers had it allowed individuals to elaborate their thoughts, rather than be restricted to the options of 'Yes', 'No' or 'Don't know'. Unsurprisingly, given the format of the question, the majority of respondents (58) said that they did not know if motivating factors had changed.

The results of Question 4.3 were also inconclusive, with 70 people stating that they were unsure whether occurrence rates had increased or decreased over the years (Q4.3 'How do you think the frequency of instances of art vandalism has altered within the last 10 years?' - Figure 23). This outcome can probably be attributed to a genuine lack of knowledge. As already mentioned, concrete statistics on levels of art vandalism are scarce. Moreover, most of the representatives who addressed this question had either limited experience of cases or none at all, which would have made it hard for them to comment on wider trends.

Respondents were more confident when answering Question 4.4, which asked that a series of preventative measures be graded in terms of effectiveness (Q4.4 'How effective do you believe the following measures might be in preventing future occurrences of art vandalism?' - Figures 24-37). Although this question received a strong response rate, some respondents did not appraise every strategy listed. Their degree of involvement was presumably dependent on personal experience.

One of the most prominent patterns to emerge was the perceived effectiveness of utilising staff as the vanguard of an institution's defences (Figures 24 and 35). 110 (81.5%) individuals stated that locating attendants in every room was either effective or very effective. 111 (82.3%) asserted that maintaining staff vigilance was either effective or very effective. Many were outspoken on the matter. The collections manager from one large local authority museum, which had suffered several attacks in recent years, extolled this method of prevention: "I think good invigilation is 95% of the answer".

Other measures judged worthwhile were the use of proximity alarms and the use of surveillance cameras (Figures 34 and 36). 76 respondents believed alarms to be either effective or very effective, while 75 said the same of cameras. The popularity of these tactics is perhaps surprising, given that much expert security advice values human surveillance above technological substitutes.³² Participants may have been considering these devices in a supplementary capacity. On the other hand, opinions may have been grounded in supposition rather than practice; previous answers to Question 3.6 indicate that only a small number of respondents had first-hand experience of countering vandalism with alarms or CCTV systems.

Participants' familiarity with the implementation of compulsory bag searches and cloakrooms is also doubtful, but these measures received more diverse appraisals (Figures 26 and 27). The spokesman for one local authority museum determined that cloakrooms were very effective, and went on to remark that they "help visitors to enjoy their visit". He presumably meant that they render the gallery environment more comfortable. An exhibitions coordinator from an independent institution took the opposite stance, describing cloakrooms and bag searches as "intimidating".

The issue of conspicuous and inconspicuous physical deterrents also prompted mixed views (Figures 28 and 29). Overt barriers like glazing or ropes received fairly high approval ratings from the majority of respondents. 71 graded them as either effective or very effective. Participants were less convinced of the merit of more subtle deterrents like changes in floor surfaces or lighting. Only 27 deemed them to be effective or very effective. Even so, these results were not as straightforward as they seem. Several respondents who supported the use of conspicuous physical deterrents proceeded to discuss their drawbacks. One pointed out that the presence of glazing and ropes makes the appreciation of protected artworks more difficult. While these devices often discourage vandals, and may forestall injury when someone does

strike, they can have a detrimental effect on the everyday viewing experience. Uncertainty about the wider implications of installing obtrusive barriers is reflected in the fact that increasing numbers of galleries are now experimenting with open display. The recently renovated Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery in Glasgow is notable for embracing this approach.³³

As was to be expected, preventative measures based on principles of access and education were generally not thought to be particularly effective (Figures 25, 30, 31, 32, 33 and 37). The least popular tactic was the production of in-house publications on themes relating to vandalism and the damage of exhibits. Only 7 respondents described this course of action as effective or very effective. The most favoured strategy was the provision of visitor feedback facilities, with 31 individuals judging this to be effective or very effective. Yet even this was not an especially high endorsement, compared to the backing that security procedures received. These results are further confirmation that a profound scepticism surrounds the use of access and educational schemes in efforts to tackle art vandalism.

Although supporters were in the minority, there were fervent advocates of this approach. The director of one local authority museum was convinced that better interpretation of collections was the key to curbing assaults. He gave almost every security measure the rating ‘Very Ineffective’ to emphasise his belief. Proponents of access and education should not be entirely disheartened by the outcome of Question 4.4. Essentially, the grading of these initiatives indicated people’s perceptions of them rather than their proven effectiveness. It is worth remembering that only 7 respondents professed to have organised educational projects after an attack.

The penultimate three questions in the survey invited participants to comment on some potentially contentious issues connected to art vandalism. It was hoped that each would engender a range of viewpoints, which could serve as the nuclei for further debate. The open-answer format of these questions yielded a diverse body of data, but several dominant trends emerged through iterative analysis.

Question 4.5 broached the subject of how security arrangements impact upon ordinary visitors (Q4.5 ‘What impact do enhanced security measures have on the average visitor’s experience of museums and galleries?’ - Figures 38a and 38b). Edward Dolnick asserts that when stringent measures are enforced in cultural institutions the “gains in security are dubious; the loss of enjoyment to art-lovers is guaranteed”.³⁴ This “loss of enjoyment” may take two forms. As already mentioned,

the immediacy of an encounter with an artwork can be diminished by the presence of physical barriers, but it is also possible that visitors can be intimidated by some practices. Metal detectors and bag searches were singled out by one curator as “needlessly aggressive”. 36 respondents made the point that intrusive measures can make the public feel unwelcome, and consequently dissuade them from returning. Constant surveillance was considered to be a particular problem for infrequent visitors, who may imagine that they are ‘on probation’ while among displays.

The capacity for enhanced security to unnerve the public is not reason enough to dismiss its use. The burgeoning monetary value of fine art and the ongoing threat of international terrorism render this option inconceivable. In fact, some survey participants, often those from national institutions, claimed that visitors were reassured by visible precautions.

Finding a suitable compromise between collection safety and public comfort is not easy, but respondents were sensitive towards their dual responsibility. 22 commented that if measures are implemented discreetly, they will have minimal effect on the average visitor. The manager of one independent institution observed that “there are a number of small, unobtrusive security devices on the market, which have little impact on visitors’ enjoyment”. Along these lines, some people drew attention to the vital role of gallery attendants in achieving a balance between security and access. One collections care manager stated that “if attendants [...] are friendly and knowledgeable rather than officious they enhance (the) visitor experience”. Even if an institution concludes that it must employ invasive procedures to protect displays, at least approachable staff will be able to explain this necessity to the public and provide reassurance.

The next question focused on determining whether museums have the means to undertake preventative action, and assessing the consequences of inadequate resourcing. Participants were relatively unanimous in declaring that under-resourcing hinders work to reduce instances of damage (Q4.6 ‘What effect does lack of resources have on the efforts of museums and galleries to combat art vandalism?’ - Figures 39a and 39b). 51 stated that this situation impedes an institution’s ability to improve security, and, thus, could compromise safety. Insufficient funding among UK galleries is a well-publicised problem, and it is acknowledged that financial constraints make it impossible for some establishments to upgrade their defences.³⁵ Several contributors to the survey demonstrated direct experience of this. One

spokesperson from a local authority museum admitted that they did not have enough money to increase the number of surveillance cameras in use. Another curator outlined even bleaker circumstances: “The most effective things cost money - attendants, cameras, alarms, glazing etc - we can't afford any of them!”. Many procedures and devices are expensive to implement and maintain, and smaller premises are affected acutely by this concern.

38 respondents answered Question 4.6 by referring specifically to the matter of staffing. They pointed out that a lack of resources can cause workforce cuts, which may result in attendants becoming over-stretched in their duties, and art not being invigilated properly. Considering how many people judged the presence of staff to be a strong deterrent to potential vandals, this is a worrying scenario. One keeper of art regretted that the warding team at her gallery was too small, adding: “I feel that it is a matter of luck that nothing has been damaged or stolen”. Impoverished institutions often have little choice but to rely on any technological systems that are already in place. This is a controversial process in itself. As one gallery manager insisted, there is “no real substitute for well trained staff”.

Question 4.7 sought to establish the influence of the media on efforts to curb attacks. It received the lowest response rate of these last few questions. Perhaps some participants without experience of vandalism felt ill-equipped to discuss the topic. It still prompted some highly relevant observations though (Q4.7 ‘What impact does press/media interest in art vandalism have on the efforts of museums and galleries to combat this problem?’ - Figures 40a and 40b).

Most frequently, respondents discussed the idea that publicity can inspire ‘copycat’ crimes. ‘Copycat’ acts of property destruction are well-documented phenomena, not only in museums but in the wider community. Cohen explains that vandalism “often occurs in waves, much like waves of fashion, and the initial reporting of an incident often has the effect of triggering off incidents of a similar kind”.³⁶ A local authority representative illustrated this point in the survey. She described a situation in which a number of assaults on exhibits occurred in her museum, and attracted the attention of the press. The story was covered and broadcast, whereupon further emulative episodes began to take place. Press involvement caused the trouble to spread.

In a bid to forestall such predicaments, galleries often try to keep details of cases out of the public domain. This practice was familiar to several respondents.

For example, the deputy director of a national museum reflected: “it is best, I think, not to publicise the problem”. It seems that many facing the threat of vandalism feel a sense of mistrust towards the press. In addition to those worried by ‘copycat’ behaviour, 15 respondents made the broader claim that media attention is a negative factor because it encourages and/or aggravates violence against art.

17 participants insisted that press interest has little or no impact on attempts to curb offences. Although this opinion featured prominently, the reasoning behind it is obscure, since very few individuals gave further details. They might have believed that their institutions were insulated sufficiently against the more negative effects of media recognition. Or perhaps they simply did not discern a connection in the first place. As one exhibitions coordinator said: “I do not think there is a relationship”.

Some people perceived advantages to press attention, in terms of its ability to bring awareness of the problem to a wider forum. 14 respondents stated that coverage of cases encouraged the public to be more protective of collections and/or understanding of necessary security measures. 14 also suggested that it could alert museum professionals to the issue and, thus, be a catalyst for change within the sector. The assistant director of one London-based national gallery agreed that raising the profile of the crime could act as a “lever for extra funding”. Of course, the outcome of boosting awareness depends on how skilfully institutions handle the aftermath of attacks. This approach has a danger of backfiring. 10 respondents asserted that the media can educate potential assailants about defensive weaknesses. In the words of one curator, vandalism “makes for a ‘good story’ for the press”, but for museums the benefits of working with journalists are debatable.

Conclusion

The final question in *Responding to Art Vandalism* requested any further views on the research theme. It generated an array of answers (Q4.8 ‘Any further thoughts or opinions on the subject of art vandalism?’ - Figures 41a and 41b). Most participants took the opportunity to elaborate upon aforementioned case studies and experiences, demonstrating an encouraging depth of commitment to the survey. However, the second most popular type of comment proclaimed the futility of efforts to curb art vandalism. The head of collections at a local authority gallery gave the following verdict: “Vandalism is vandalism, whether it’s art or any property. Whatever the motive, it is a form of human expression and I doubt it can be completely prevented”.

This pessimistic outlook is quite well established. A number of researchers have concluded that vandalism is a permanent problem that will never be solved entirely. Conklin states that, if anything, it is surprising that there are not more instances of damage, given the degree of access that the public has to art and the relative lack of security in cultural institutions.³⁷

Such judgements have a certain measure of validity. As already identified, the balance between access and security is a delicate one. With museums eager to broaden their audiences by diversifying modes of interpretation, visitors expect increasingly to be provided with a participatory experience. This can leave exhibits vulnerable to injury. One survey respondent, the head of curatorial services at a local authority institution, recognised these circumstances. Although most incidents arising at her museum were not malicious, she found that “the increasingly ‘hands-on’ nature of museum displays” could “confuse visitors about what they can or can’t touch”.³⁸

Preventing purposeful destruction is an even more formidable task. It is hard to predict either the types of art or institutions which are at greatest risk of being targeted; the heterogeneity of the crime makes it complicated to confront. Major episodes of violence present a particular difficulty, since attacks are often preconceived and few measures discourage determined perpetrators. In fact, the manager of one museum reported that some obtrusive security devices can have the opposite effect and actually provoke vandals. A chronic lack of resources compounds the seemingly bleak situation in many galleries.

Yet resignation is premature. Eliminating the threat of art vandalism may not be realistic, but decreasing the scale of the phenomenon is a genuine possibility. Changes must be made to achieve this end. Museums and galleries should stop accepting hackneyed excuses and enforcing outdated solutions, and consider their responses afresh. This survey has demonstrated that the main danger is posed by opportunistic vandals who inflict minor damage surreptitiously. Taking this finding at face value, many galleries might blame destruction for destruction’s sake, and react automatically by introducing conspicuous physical deterrents. In some circumstances this could be a successful means of prevention. But what if assailants strike because they are unengaged by the exhibits? What if other visitors are affected adversely by the increased security? What if this one-dimensional approach makes the situation worse? The most obvious response is not always the most appropriate. Museums need to be more flexible, more receptive.

Responding to Art Vandalism lays the groundwork for change. It provides a preparatory cross-section of the threats, limitations and opportunities that surround the issue currently. The onus is now on cultural institutions to expand the debate, and be prepared to accept new ideas to find contemporary solutions. If they adopt a more proactive stance it is possible that art vandalism will come to be regarded in a more serious light. And this could prompt the release of the additional resources required to make a real difference in the field.

Responding to Art Vandalism in British Museums and Galleries – Principal Recommendations

Art vandalism is not an everyday occurrence in UK cultural institutions. In spite of, or maybe because of, the infrequency of incidents, there is little consensus or consistency concerning the way in which galleries react to the phenomenon. Accordingly, it was deemed necessary to draw out some procedural cues from the findings of the survey and present them as a set of recommendations. These are not intended to be enforced as a strict code of rules, but rather referred to as directional guidelines. They are proposals to be amended and updated as further discussions ensue and future research is embarked upon.

If not already doing so, cultural institutions should begin to keep thorough records of incidents of vandalism that occur in their premises, and the subsequent actions taken. A uniform system of documentation, preferably a computerised database, would allow museums to monitor the extent of the problem accurately and establish any patterns behind attacks. This would enable them to respond to episodes in a manner appropriate to their particular experiences. In addition, it would facilitate the sharing of information between institutions. Systems ought to be designed with long-term usage in mind.

Galleries should attempt to determine the areas of their collections at greatest risk by profiling any exhibits targeted previously. Profiles should detail the media, subject matter and age of each artwork. This would assist in the administration of future risk assessments.

Minor acts of art vandalism occur most commonly, and those involving food and drink are among the most straightforward to prevent. Explicit bans on edible products should be implemented in display areas to help reduce the problem. Where institutions are considering positioning cafés close to exhibits, or hiring out space for private functions, the safety of collections should be a foremost consideration. Precautions should be taken to diminish potential risks.

Cultural institutions should aim towards better rates of identification for perpetrators. Where possible, CCTV systems should be installed discreetly to this end. Museum staff should also establish close connections with local police forces, and encourage the sharing of relevant information between parties.

It may not be realistic or desirable to urge galleries to press charges against culprits, but it is important that the police investigate cases of deliberate destruction more seriously. Alerting the authorities consistently to instances of damage should focus minds on the issue without permitting too much sensitive information into the public domain. The support of the police is advantageous even if it is simply to bolster staff morale within museums.

Funding should be ring-fenced in all cultural institutions for the express purpose of countering art vandalism. A significant proportion should be allotted to the employment and training of invigilation staff. Gallery attendants are especially effective in preventing assaults. If their demeanour is friendly and knowledgeable, they are also less intimidating for visitors than many other modes of security.

University museums are noticeably prone to attacks on art, but this category of institution is the least likely to improve security after an incident. This may be due to a lack of resources among university art collections. The governing bodies of such establishments should be alerted to the threat, and ought to allocate additional funding for the introduction or augmentation of protective arrangements.

The promotion of access and education has become a guiding force in the museum sector in recent years. Even so, very few institutions are willing to explore this avenue in their efforts to combat art vandalism. A predominantly unfounded scepticism surrounds the perceived value of techniques based on principles of access and education. A centrally-coordinated series of trials should be piloted across UK museums to determine the effectiveness of this approach conclusively.

Much damage to artworks is not carried out maliciously, but is the result of ignorance and curiosity. Measures should be taken to avoid this unnecessary drain on resources. For example, visitors could be educated more extensively on the material properties of art and the fragility of exhibits. Similarly, numbers of accidents could be reduced through better physical organisation of displays, particularly in situations where large crowds are expected.

As a final recommendation, galleries should set up internal consultation groups, where members of staff are given the opportunity to discuss the issue of art vandalism and share their experiences. Within these groups, participants could be encouraged to identify their preconceptions towards the phenomenon, perhaps with regard to perceived motives, or the role of the media. Engaging in this type of debate could embolden staff to recognise any presumptions that they harbour, and to propose

alternative ways of understanding and responding to attacks. Findings from these consultations should then inform institutional policy. If these forum schemes prove constructive, they could be organised on a regional or even national scale.

References

- ¹ – Hoare, Nell: *Security for Museums*, Committee of Area Museum Councils Report in association with the Museums Association, London, 1990, piii
- ² – Cordess, Christopher and Turcan, Maja: 'Art Vandalism', *British Journal of Criminology*, Volume 33, Winter 1993, pp95-102
- ³ – *Ibid.*, p96
- ⁴ – *Ibid.*, p95
- ⁵ – Conklin, John E.: *Art Crime*, Westport, Connecticut and London, 1994, p4
- ⁶ – Telephone Interview with Derek Pullen, Head of Sculpture Conservation at Tate, London, UK (Conducted 17/11/05)
- ⁷ – For a detailed assessment of terminology see the Introduction.
- ⁸ – Museums Association: *Museums & Galleries Yearbook 2006*, London, 2006, pp41-304
- ⁹ – Carter, Sophie, Hurst, Bethan, Kerr, Rachel H., Taylor, Emma and Winsor, Peter: *Museum Focus: Facts and Figures on Museums in the UK*, Museums & Galleries Commission Report, Issue 2, London, 1999, p111
According to DOMUS statistics, the proportional representation for each category of institution in a sample of 250 should be as follows:

National	6.8	(2.7%)
Local Authority	98.8	(39.5%)
Independent	95.3	(38.1%)
University	12.5	(5.0%)
Other	36.8	(14.7%)

(Other includes Military, English Heritage, National Trust and National Trust for Scotland)
- ¹⁰ – Each figure relating to this chapter demonstrates the responses of all 135 survey respondents, including those who did not answer questions. Unless specified otherwise, the percentages given also derive from the total number of respondents.
- ¹¹ – This is in spite of advice to the contrary. The Museums and Galleries Security Group urges institutions to create and keep records of all breaches in security. They suggest that this information can be used to aid subsequent investigations, and statistics can contribute to the development of preventative policies. See: Museums and Galleries Security Group: *Security in Museums, Archives and Libraries: A Practical Guide*, Re:source: The Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries Report, London, 2003, p27
- ¹² – Of UK university museums, fewer than 10% have dependable core revenue funding. See: University Museums Group UK: *University Museums in the United Kingdom: A National Resource for the 21st Century (Executive Summary and Recommendations)*, Norwich, May 2004 (Paragraph 3.1: The Funding Context)
- ¹³ – Cordess and Turcan: 'Art Vandalism', p97
- ¹⁴ – It should be mentioned that 9 'Other' cases of art vandalism were reported. These included a range of minor and major incidents, such as damage caused by attempted theft; touching or picking at the surface of an artwork by hand; application of a foreign body to the surface of an artwork; moving an artwork; use of a car. Due to their variety, these 'other' episodes were not categorised; they account for the remaining 8.0% of cases.
- ¹⁵ – Gamboni, Dario: *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution*, London, 1997, pp191-192

-
- ¹⁶ – Guidance on how museums can cater for functions without putting collections at risk is given in:
Cassar, May: ‘Serving Food and Drink at Events in Museums: Fact Sheet for the Museums & Galleries Commission’, *Museums, Libraries and Archives Council Website*,
www.mla.gov.uk/resources/assets/M/mgc_fooddrink_pdf_4699.pdf, (Consulted 28/01/08)
- ¹⁷ – For Question 2.4, 15 cases fell into the category of ‘Other’. Among these were attacks on glasswork, furniture, jewellery, video, picture frames and the fabric of the building and/or grounds. Although the survey was concerned with attacks on works of fine art, it was considered important to include these assaults on ‘other’ items to provide a legitimate context.
- ¹⁸ – Freedberg, David: *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, Chicago and London, 1989, p413
- ¹⁹ – This phenomenon is mentioned in Chapter One. See also:
Dornberg, John: ‘Art Vandals: Why Do They Do It?’, *Art News*, Volume 86, Number 3, March 1987, p103
Freedberg, David: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, Maarssen, 1985, pp27-35
Held, Julius S.: ‘Alteration and Mutilation of Works of Art’, *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Volume 62, Number 1, Winter 1963, pp6-8
Saltz, Jerry: ‘Idol Thoughts: Duchamp’s Divine Urinal’, *Modern Painters*, March 2006, p38
Warner, Marina: ‘Smile and Be a Villain’, *Connoisseur*, January 1983, p30
- ²⁰ – Dornberg: ‘Art Vandals’, p103
- ²¹ – Gorvy, Brett: ‘Massacre of the Innocents’, *The Antique Collector*, Volume 64, Number 4, April 1993, p61
- ²² – This maximum number of potential respondents for the third section of the survey derives from the answers given to Question 2.2: 51 respondents stated that they had experienced at least one instance of vandalism in the last 10 years, 5 respondents stated that they did not know how many instances had occurred, and 3 respondents stated that they would rather not comment on how many had occurred.
- ²³ – Cordess and Turcan: ‘Art Vandalism’, p97
- ²⁴ – According to English law, art vandals can be prosecuted for criminal damage under Section 1 of the Criminal Damage Act 1971. In Scotland, art vandals may be prosecuted for the specific offence of vandalism under Section 78 of the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 1980. For details see:
Coffield, Frank: *Vandalism & Graffiti: The State of the Art*, London, 1991, p10
Museums and Galleries Security Group: *Security in Museums, Archives and Libraries*, p94
- ²⁵ – See:
Bremner, Charles: ‘Vandals Leave a Poor Impression on Monet as Gallery Doors Fail’, *The Times*, 9th October 2007, p-
Fine, Gary Alan and Shatin, Deborah: ‘Crimes Against Art: Social Meanings and Symbolic Attacks’, *Empirical Studies of the Arts*, Volume 3, 1985, pp146-147
- ²⁶ – Museums & Galleries Commission: ‘Security is Everybody’s Business’, *Collections Management*, ed. Anne Fahy, London and New York, 2003, p237
- ²⁷ – Cole, Robert: ‘Give Security the Status it Needs’, *Museum Practice*, Issue 8, Volume 3, Number 2, 1998, p12
- ²⁸ – ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and Protection: A Handbook for Cultural Heritage Institutions*, London and New York, 1993, p55
- ²⁹ – Cohen, Stanley: ‘Campaigning Against Vandalism’, *Vandalism*, ed. Colin Ward, London, 1973, p250

-
- ³⁰ – Cohen, Stanley: ‘Property Destruction: Motives and Meanings’, *Vandalism*, ed. Colin Ward, London, 1973, p42
- ³¹ – The idea that some art vandalism may be undertaken to create visual, tactile or auditory effects is proposed in:
Conklin: *Art Crime*, p249
- ³² – See:
Hill, Charles: ‘Crime Watch’, *Museums Journal*, August 2003, p17
Hoare: *Security for Museums*, px
ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and Protection*, p180
Museums & Galleries Commission: *Improving Museum Security: MGC Guidelines for Good Practice*, London, 1997, p16
Osborne, Peter: ‘Security and Public Safety in Exhibitions’, *The Manual of Museum Exhibitions*, eds. Barry Lord and Gail Dexter Lord, Walnut Creek, Lanham, New York and Oxford, 2002, p131
- ³³ – See Chapter Four.
- ³⁴ – Dolnick, Edward: ‘Meanwhile: Art Wants to be Free’, *The New York Times*, 4th August 2005, p-
- ³⁵ – Burroughs, Katrina: ‘Collection Protection’, *Museums Journal*, May 2005, p29
These circumstances were also brought to the author’s attention by:
Interview with William Brown, National Security Adviser at the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council, London, UK (Conducted 27/03/08)
- ³⁶ – Cohen: ‘Campaigning Against Vandalism’, p253
- ³⁷ – Conklin: *Art Crime*, p240
The inevitability of art vandalism is discussed further in:
Belcher, Michael: *Exhibitions in Museums*, Leicester, London and Washington DC, 1991, p121
Fuller, Peter: ‘The Psychology of the Ripper’, *New Society*, 31st July 1987, p15
Gorvy: ‘Massacre of the Innocents’, p62
Jones, Jonathan: ‘Why Would Anyone Want to Deface a Painting?’, *The Guardian*, 6th March 1999, p-
Schumacher, Mary Louise: ‘On Public View, Art can be Vulnerable’, *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, 5th April 2007, p-
- ³⁸ – This problem has been identified in several publications, including:
Falk, John H. and Dierking, Lynn D.: *The Museum Experience*, Washington DC, 1992, pp65-66
McGregor, Glen: ‘Visitors Damage to Art at National Gallery Costing Hundreds of Thousands’, *Victoria Times Colonist*, 1st September 2008,
www.canada.com/victoriatimescolonist/story.html?id=dea9523f-4ca1-4461-827d-cb92ee0cf9f0, (Consulted 08/09/08)
Munday, Val: *Guidelines for Establishing, Managing and Using Handling Collections and Hands On Exhibits in Museums, Galleries and Children’s Centres*, Kids’ Clubs Network Report, February 2002, pp19-20

Conclusion

In 1962 the Director of the National Gallery described acts of iconoclasm as “the nightmare of all gallery directors”.¹ Philip Hendy’s remark came after a member of the public had thrown an ink bottle at Leonardo’s *Virgin and Child with St Anne and St John the Baptist*; an attack which, fortunately, failed to create the degree of wreckage that was intended. The case proved to be a lucky escape in many respects, but this is not to say that Hendy’s statement was exaggerated. His evaluation of the threat was sound.

Assaults on artworks can be “nightmare” occurrences. This thesis has highlighted numerous situations in which iconoclasts have brought disaster upon museums. These experiences take a variety of forms, the most obvious type of calamity concerning the physical impact on the targeted exhibit. An attack can destroy an artwork completely, as in the case of Rubens’s *King Philip IV of Spain*. This painting was reduced to ashes when it was set alight in 1985.² Episodes of iconoclasm can also bring about financial grief. When Barnett Newman’s *Who’s Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue III* was slashed in 1986, the Stedelijk Museum had to pay \$450,000 for its restoration. The cost of the assault rose further when the quality of the repair was disparaged and the conservator sued the gallery.³ Sometimes incidents rupture public relations. In 1914 the suffragettes’ campaign shook public faith in the protection that museums could provide, and generated open criticism of their precautionary measures.⁴ On other occasions, foreign relations may be damaged. Stockholm’s Museum of Antiquities became embroiled in a diplomatic dispute in 2004, for example, when the Israeli ambassador to Sweden sabotaged the installation *Snow White and the Madness of Truth*.⁵

Even minor cases of interference can prove disastrous. The treatment of Peter Lely’s *Sir Thomas Fanshawe* demonstrates this point. After a pencil moustache was drawn onto the portrait at Valence House Museum in Dagenham, news of the story spread until it featured humorously on national television. The end result was the ridicule of the venue and its collections.⁶ Small-scale incidents can be cumulatively harmful too, as the Smithsonian found to its cost. Between 2005 and 2007, thirty-five artworks were mutilated at Smithsonian museums. Although most injuries were

minor, the frequency of offences had a corrosive effect on the administration's reputation.⁷

Yet this research has done more than verify the devastating character of iconoclastic crime. It has shown that the phenomenon can be tackled, and, contrary to appearances, it is not insurmountable. When assailants strike, the pernicious consequences can often be minimised. Moreover, many episodes are preventable in the first place. Methods of response are the key to confronting the "nightmare" effectively, and every cultural institution should aim towards improvements in this sphere. Efforts should be made to enhance understanding of the problem itself, and to recognise and resist outdated or inappropriate reactions. Thought should be put into devising educational strategies that forestall destructive compulsions, and developing security measures that safeguard art without impinging on ordinary visitors. Attempts should be made to gather reliable data on the subject, and knowledge should be consolidated and circulated within the sector. By these means museums and galleries could curb the problem significantly.

Chapter One established the context to the discussion by examining the nature of the crime. The diversity of offences stands out among the findings of this analysis. Iconoclasts can be anyone from school children to pensioners, and their conduct can range from inquisitive fingering to the violent use of a weapon. Targets are equally varied, with artworks of all forms, ages and subject matter vulnerable to abuse. However, despite their heterogeneity, cases can be categorised and rationalised according to motives. This first chapter identified the main reasons why individuals harm works of art, and revealed the benefits of considering these rationales.

In 1982 an international social science colloquium concluded that the only way to understand property destruction in the community is to look at its motives.⁸ This observation applies to the specific issue of iconoclasm in museums. The mutilation of art, like any conscious activity, is always undertaken for a reason. Reasons may be multi-faceted, convoluted, or unacceptable in the eyes of normal society, but if the stimuli can be discerned then the behaviour can be interpreted. And if cultural institutions are able to comprehend the essence of the threat, they will be better prepared to react effectively. Some galleries shy away from studying motives, maintaining instead that iconoclasm is unfathomable. The investigative process can be complicated, but it is a vital mode of response because motives provide indicators to where particular risks lie. Individuals who want to promote a cause often choose to

disfigure depictions of famous people. Attacks prompted by incomprehension or misinterpretation tend to affect avant-garde artworks that are displayed without educational aids. A gallery that is aware of such hazards is not only well-placed to bring unfolding situations under control, it is capable of taking preventative measures from the outset. In these circumstances, being forewarned is being forearmed.

Unfortunately, this approach has the capacity to cause over-reaction. If all museums make a keener effort to scrutinise motives, there is a danger that some will begin censoring exhibits to avoid attracting trouble. Artworks with controversial subject matter are likely targets for this treatment. Images that transgress moral boundaries or represent religious themes in a challenging way constitute a sizable proportion of iconoclastic casualties, and are immediately recognisable as potential flashpoints. Galleries might reason that they are too much of a liability, and resolve not to show them so as to reduce the chances of attack.

There is already a palpable anxiety regarding the display of certain kinds of art. A recent illustration is provided by the handling of Nan Goldin's photography at the BALTIC Centre for Contemporary Art in Gateshead. In September 2007 a picture from Goldin's installation *Thanksgiving* was seized by police the day before it was due to go on public view. The Crown Prosecution Service was asked to determine whether or not the print of two semi-naked girls was indecent. Instead of being tipped off by an outsider, it is thought that the authorities were invited to investigate by the gallery's management, who were concerned that the photograph would spark complaints.⁹ This situation did not arise out of fear of iconoclasm specifically. Even so, it is easy to imagine how a sharper focus on iconoclasts' motives might increase nervousness among institutions and prompt more of them to act in this manner.

Removing potentially provocative artworks from display, or even resisting their exhibition altogether, would reduce the rate of assaults. But the self-censorship route is a superficial remedy. It is not so much a means of tackling the problem, as a way of submitting to it. Ultimately, it is a defeatist course of action, not just because it bows to the will of would-be assailants, but because it stems from the assumption that destructive impulses cannot be tamed.

Museums must take care not to succumb to this attitude and fall into a pattern of suppressing artistic freedom. The point of considering motives is to raise awareness of risks, not to incite hypersensitivity and paranoia. Rather than become a

tool of censorship, this response should be used to direct access and educational programmes and to focus the implementation of security enhancement.

Chapter Two showed that there have been various ill-judged reactions to iconoclasm over the years. This part of the thesis analysed how different sections of society responded to the suffragettes' campaign in 1914, and assessed the degree to which trends of response endured thereafter. Most modes of reaction did not originate during the struggle for an equal franchise; their roots can be traced back to earlier assaults on art. However, the sustained character of the women's offensive provided the necessary conditions for many to become entrenched at this time.

Some of these responses were inappropriate and irresponsible. Authorities alleged that assailants were mentally unstable, newspapers sensationalised coverage of attacks, and the public expressed an unbridled mix of outrage and curiosity towards incidents. They created difficulties in 1914, and their survival continues to hinder modern-day efforts to tackle the problem. Dismissing iconoclasm as a symptom of mental illness obscures underlying motives, thereby stifling understanding of the phenomenon. Melodramatic reactions give perpetrators the publicity and infamy that they often crave, with the result that crimes are encouraged rather than deterred.

Cultural institutions may not be able to influence the behavioural patterns of the authorities, press and public directly, but they could lead by example and reconsider their own trends of response. At the height of suffragette militancy, museums and galleries lacked coordination; each adopted different practical strategies to counter assaults on collections. Yet one attitudinal reaction was embraced by the majority of galleries and has burgeoned in significance ever since: the policy of non-communication. In 1914 this policy was at an embryonic stage, its presence characterised by a reticence among staff to make press statements. Today it is far more developed. In many cases, non-communication enforces a taboo on disclosing information about episodes outwith the confines of the victimised institution.¹⁰

The Women's Library at London Metropolitan University felt the effects of this in 2003. Ahead of mounting the exhibition 'Art for Votes' Sake', the library's Curator requested a loan from the National Gallery of two photographs illustrating the injuries inflicted by Mary Richardson on Velázquez's *Rokeby Venus*.¹¹ Staff replied that they could not supply the pictures due to a "longstanding gallery policy" that prohibited such material from entering the public domain.¹² Several reasons might be proposed for why this policy was upheld, but the main justification was spelt out by

the gallery itself. A “fear of further copycat attacks” drove the decision. Imitative acts of iconoclasm are a genuine concern, so it is understandable that institutions should not wish to contribute to projects that could provide inspiration for future assailants. Indeed, under the circumstances, the National Gallery’s conduct was probably sensible.

However, the policy of non-communication extends beyond keeping information away from the general public. It compels some museums to avoid liaising with the police and to resist pressing charges against iconoclasts. The tendency to keep silent rather than pursue legal action was highlighted by Christopher Cordess and Maja Turcan in 1993.¹³ It is also borne out in the results of *Responding to Art Vandalism in British Museums and Galleries*. Not a single participant in this survey outlined a case in which a culprit had been prosecuted for mutilating an exhibit, even though some of the damage described was extremely serious.¹⁴

Non-communication also restricts engagement with researchers. As this thesis was being prepared, gallery representatives were approached to share their experiences and opinions on the topic. Many requests were ignored outright, and it was quite common for those who did reply to state their unwillingness to discuss the matter with anyone outside their institutions.

While it is appropriate to exercise some caution when dealing with the public, assuming an isolationist stance towards law enforcement and research is unwise. Not pressing charges sends out the wrong signal to potential iconoclasts. It belittles the gravity of the offence, and may even encourage perpetrators if they realise that they are unlikely to be punished. Refusing to take part in research is equally reckless. Ultimately, it masks the true scale of the crime and impedes the development of preventative techniques. These reactions do nothing to alleviate the problem. In fact, they give the impression that there is no problem. Denial is not a responsible attitude because ignoring iconoclasm will not make it disappear. Of all the trends of response that have endured since the suffragettes’ campaign, the policy of non-communication is a legacy that could and should be revised.

A more proactive way of dealing with the issue was identified in the next phase of the research. Chapter Three concentrated on the access and education approach: a means of forestalling certain iconoclastic impulses by increasing public engagement with and understanding of artworks.

In 1997 Dario Gamboni noted that most protective measures in museums “derive from an analysis of the methods of aggression rather than of its motives”.¹⁵ Access and education bucks the trend. It tackles the roots of the problem, as opposed to its symptoms. This approach has three strands, each of which addresses a different stimulus for attacks. Firstly, facilitating greater involvement with collections can counter feelings of alienation among the public. Secondly, helping people to appreciate exhibits theoretically can check anger aroused by incomprehension or misinterpretation. Thirdly, teaching them about the physical nature of artworks can guard against insensitivity. Using examples of projects undertaken in the wider community and schemes introduced as part of general policy in museums, this chapter investigated how the promotion of inclusion and learning could lessen iconoclasm.

Access and education is currently under-utilised as a mode of response. There is a profound reluctance among cultural institutions to experiment in this direction. This is partially due to the reputation associated with similar endeavours aimed at reducing property destruction in the community. During the 1960s and 1970s, many ventures were embarked on without being given sufficient long-term support; subsequent failures were attributed to the inadequacy of the strategy rather than the authorities’ lack of foresight. Hesitancy is also widespread because access and education is not suited to confronting every type of iconoclasm. But the sticking point for many galleries is the fact that the approach is untested. In this regard, a self-perpetuating cycle of timidity hinders progress. The only means of breaking the cycle is for museums to step into the unknown and begin piloting initiatives. This is easier than it sounds. Improving the readability of text panels can be as effective as enabling members of the public to curate their own exhibitions. Schemes cater to a variety of budgets and complement existing priorities in the sector.

Educating people about iconoclasm itself is one initiative that does require some bravery. This is the logical culmination of an approach that champions the principles of inclusion, enlightenment and openness. Yet it poses a challenge for museums. As already mentioned, staff are often uncomfortable displaying images of damaged art or disclosing information about assaults. Teaching visitors about incidents seems almost to invite ‘copycats’. However, it could be argued that broaching the subject from a conservation angle is not the same as divulging details for the sake of transparency alone. With careful planning, this sort of enterprise could

raise awareness about restoration techniques and the vulnerability of art, making viewers think twice about interfering with displays.

In 1997 the exhibition '*Danaë: The Fate of Rembrandt's Masterpiece*' demonstrated that the Hermitage was prepared to explore this method of response.¹⁶ Since then, other institutions have followed suit. For the reopening of Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery in 2006 an educational feature was developed out of the 1961 attack on Salvador Dalí's *Christ of St John of the Cross* (Plate 92). An interactive computer program, entitled 'The Art of Conservation', tells the story of the painting's injury and restoration whilst showing photographs of the torn canvas in various states of repair.¹⁷ An exhibition staged at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge in 2006 is another example of curators turning an act of destruction to educational ends. The centrepiece of 'Mission Impossible? Ethics and Choices in Conservation' was the first of three Chinese vases to have been mended after they were smashed by a visitor who fell into them (Plates 93 and 94).¹⁸

Compared to the *Danaë* project, these are tentative experiments. The computer program at Kelvingrove is one interactive among many, and it is debatable whether the Fitzwilliam would have drawn attention to the restoration of its vases if they had been shattered on purpose.¹⁹ Nonetheless, these developments suggest that galleries are starting to warm towards teaching people about iconoclasm. And this may be a signal that conditions are becoming gradually more favourable to the access and education approach.

Although it is desirable that access and education should be accepted eventually, a shift in attitudes must not come at the cost of sidelining conventional tactics. Some iconoclastic compulsions are not diminished by the provision of greater opportunities for public involvement and learning; indeed some iconoclasts are oblivious to such efforts. More overt methods of prevention are required as well. Chapter Four looked at security enhancement, the traditional answer to safeguarding collections.

This section of the discussion concerned procedures that protect artworks, deter perpetrators and boost the chances of criminal detection. It identified the main security options open to museums and evaluated the competency of each in countering assaults. Analysis found that introducing or augmenting measures in isolation is an inadequate practice. It is better to construct a coordinated network of precautions so as to address the diversity of the crime. A schoolchild wishing to

impress peers may be discouraged from wreaking harm by the sight of a CCTV camera, but a determined political protester is unlikely to be stopped by anything short of physical restraint by a gallery attendant. An interface of different measures goes a long way to preserving artistic treasures for future generations.

Cultural institutions also have a duty to make these treasures available to contemporary audiences though, and herein lies the difficulty with security enhancement. Heightened defences can have a negative impact on the public's ability to engage with art, either by compromising the viewing experience or by eliciting feelings of harassment and self-consciousness. Whenever galleries consider raising security levels to deal with iconoclasm, the effect on ordinary visitors has to be taken into account.

To an extent, the security-access dilemma can be reconciled through sensitive implementation. Bag searches can be explained, glazing on pictures can be non-reflective, and cameras can be installed discreetly. Essentially, though, these gestures are superficial. The Museums Association describes museums as organisations which “enable people to explore collections for inspiration, learning and enjoyment”.²⁰ Some genuine concessions to access are necessary if this purpose is to be met. Greater investment in unobtrusive protection is a possible solution. If raised platforms and strategic lighting are integrated into security interfaces more often, collections could be rendered both approachable and defensible.

This suggestion has promise, but it also carries risk. It is increasingly common for galleries to incorporate participatory resources into displays, sometimes even artworks that the public are supposed to interact with. John Falk and Lynn Dierking warn that this creates inconsistent ‘behaviour settings’, which can cause visitors to become uncertain over what they may and may not touch.²¹ Signage can be used as an orientation aid, but a conspicuous security measure, like a physical barrier, is the clearest indication that an exhibit is off-limits. Unobtrusive protection does not provide visual cues to distinguish between hands-on and hands-off displays. Consequently, this strategy may exacerbate confusion.

Inquisitive handling is the obvious hazard that can arise from such circumstances. However, there is the potential for events to take a more serious turn. On 16th October 1997 a student was arrested at the Contemporary Arts Center in Cincinnati for drawing a line in marker pen across five canvases from Yoko Ono's installation *Part Painting / A Circle*.²² Jake Platt believed that he had been permitted

to act in this way because another of Ono's works invited participation. "No one said anything about me writing on the rocks", Platt explained, "so I figured it would be OK to write on the painting".²³ A nearby wall bore one of Ono's quotations: "No one can tell you not to touch the art". Platt claimed that he took this literally. While it may be indulgent to accept his excuse, it cannot be denied that the gallery's 'behaviour setting' was ambiguous. And the lack of conspicuous security only compounded the matter.

At the moment, increased use of unobtrusive protection is being trialled in a number of venues. It remains to be seen whether it will prove a counterproductive measure that leads to more art being damaged, or a successful compromise that transforms the face of gallery defences. The issue should be monitored over the next few years, and procedures should be adjusted as findings dictate. Responding to iconoclasm through security enhancement may be a traditional course of action, but this does not mean it is a static one.

Advocating change and achieving it are very different pursuits. Reforms can be slow to take hold in any area of civil administration, and the museum sector is no exception. Chapter Five analysed the results of *Responding to Art Vandalism in British Museums and Galleries*, a survey that aimed to ascertain the current character of the phenomenon and to determine how contemporary institutions deal with it. It showed that many galleries still have a long way to go in improving their reactions.

The motives behind attacks are often overlooked or discounted. 60.7% of respondents felt that destruction for destruction's sake is a main stimulus for assaults, an answer which implies that such behaviour is motiveless. Outdated and improper trends of response continue to be adhered to, including the assumption that perpetrators are psychologically unstable. 38.5% cited mental illness as a primary cause of offences, though this assertion was seldom supported with evidence. The access and education approach is extremely underdeveloped. Only 7 participants reported that they had experimented in this field. Likewise, few could comment with any authority on methods of unobtrusive protection. Most museums were predisposed towards overt security precautions like invigilation and physical barriers.

This lack of progress is concerning. It appears that the majority of galleries in the UK respond to iconoclasm with backward attitudes and obvious tactics. Many institutions that took part in *Responding to Art Vandalism* were not even receptive to the idea of change. When asked for their opinions on a variety of access and

educational projects, most representatives described them as either ineffective or very ineffective. Yet almost none had first-hand experience of such schemes.

The survey exposed another revelation that is still more worrying: many museum professionals are unaware of the scale of the crime. Some participants did not know how many cases had occurred at their institutions; others remarked that iconoclasm is not a significant threat. During the preparation of this thesis such circumstances and sentiments were encountered repeatedly. All too often, attacks are dealt with as and when they happen, the wider picture is not considered, and the depth of the problem is misjudged. The survey found that 40.5% of art collections had been subject to acts of conscious damage between 1997 and 2006. Although abuse is not an everyday event, it is more prevalent than a lot of people think. Indeed, this statistic itself might underestimate the situation, since it derives from data that museums chose to provide. When the National Gallery of Canada received an enquiry under the jurisdiction of the Access to Information Act (1983) in 2008, staff were obliged to admit that there had been 18 instances of deliberate harm there since 2001.²⁴ It is quite possible that compulsory Freedom of Information requests at other galleries would yield similar discoveries.

The extent of iconoclastic crime has to be established definitively. To this end, action is required on both individual and collective fronts. Individual institutions need to gain a clearer idea of the number of incidents occurring on their premises, and the best way of doing this is to maintain thorough records. In the mid 1980s, research revealed that many museums did not keep documentation about attacks.²⁵ The findings of *Responding to Art Vandalism* indicate that some remain negligent in this respect. Yet accurate record keeping would not only help galleries to appreciate the scale of the threat, it would allow them to discern any patterns among offences. And this would be of great advantage when devising preventative strategies.

In terms of collective action, the goal should be to collate information. Museums should be encouraged to notify a central authority whenever cases occur. This authority could then monitor wider trends, and raise awareness of the issue among cultural institutions by sharing updates and offering advice. In Britain, some of these functions are already performed by the Museums and Galleries Security Group. Chaired by the MLA National Security Adviser, this body of representatives meets to pool knowledge and exchange tips on security matters.²⁶ Lobbying such groups to put further emphasis on iconoclasm could be a way forward.

However, a more ambitious approach is necessary if all museum professionals are to be alerted to the prevalence of offences. A dedicated organisation is called for. It is worth considering the example of the Art Loss Register. Founded in 1991, this commercial network maintains the most comprehensive database of stolen, missing and looted artworks in the world.²⁷ The Register's essential purpose is to assist in search and recovery, but by acting as a central information repository it is also able to measure the scale of criminal activity. An equivalent database for episodes of iconoclasm would have the same benefit. If an international organisation was created that coupled this type of facility with an advisory service, galleries could be kept abreast of the situation and the deliberate mutilation of art could be countered more effectively. Identifying the size of the problem would at least be a start for the sector.

In 1968 a journalist for the *London Evening Standard* commented that iconoclasm is a phenomenon "as old as the human race". It was a facile closing remark to a short and somewhat simplistic article on the subject, written after a painting by Jan Vermeer had been disfigured at the National Gallery.²⁸ Nevertheless, this cliché has a ring of truth. Whatever the motivation, the urge to interfere with art is a potent one; people have been defacing paintings and toppling sculptures for thousands of years. So long as artworks continue to exist, a small number of individuals will be drawn to harm them, and so long as artworks are displayed in public, this minority will have opportunity to strike. It is, therefore, impossible to eradicate all risk of iconoclasm in museums and galleries.

But there are means of reducing the problem. Each chapter in this thesis has outlined proposals for improvements in different areas of response. Theoretical arguments have been presented in favour of reflection and change, and these have been supported by practical suggestions for implementation. Currently, the way that cultural institutions tackle iconoclasm leaves much to be desired; both attitudes and procedures need to be addressed. Too many reactions are either lazy, defeatist or ineffective, and a few are worryingly reckless, in that they risk increasing the chances of attacks taking place. Yet a sustained, sector-wide effort to revise methods of response could transform circumstances entirely. Museums and galleries could become more knowledgeable, not only about the nature of iconoclastic crime, but about the impact of their own actions upon it. Members of the public could become more engaged with cultural institutions, and less likely to damage exhibits. Collections could become safer on display, without accessibility necessarily being

sacrificed. In other words, the threat could be diminished considerably, “the nightmare of all gallery directors” subdued at last.

References

- ¹ – Anonymous: ‘Bottle of Ink Thrown at Leonardo’, *The Times*, 28th June 1962, p-
The circumstances surrounding this statement are discussed in the Introduction.
- ² – See Chapter Four.
- ³ – See Chapter Four.
- ⁴ – See Chapter Two.
- ⁵ – See Chapter One.
- ⁶ – See Chapter Three.
- ⁷ – See Chapter Four.
- ⁸ – Canter, D.: ‘Vandalism: Overview and Prospect’, *Vandalism: Behaviour and Motivations*, ed. Claude Lévy-Leboyer, Amsterdam, New York and Oxford, 1984, p356
- ⁹ – In the end, the image was found not to be indecent. However, the media frenzy that followed its removal prompted the early closure of the exhibition. See:
Borland, Sophie and Reynolds, Nigel: ‘Seized ‘Art Porn’ Owned by Sir Elton John’, *News. Telegraph*, 25th September 2007,
www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2007/09/25/nbaltic125.xml,
(Consulted 25/09/07)
Sturcke, James: ‘Baltic Exhibit Seized in Child Porn Inquiry’, *The Guardian*, 25th September 2007, p-
Anonymous: ‘Art Exhibit in Child Porn Probe’, *BBC News*, 24th September 2007,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/england/tyne/7011230.stm>, (Consulted 25/09/07)
Anonymous: ‘Nan Goldin: Thanksgiving’, *BALTIC Centre for Contemporary Art Website*, www.balticmill.com/whatsOn/past/ExhibitionDetail.php?exhibID=95,
(Consulted 11/12/08)
Anonymous: ‘Seized Elton Artwork not Indecent’, *BBC News*, 26th October 2007,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/england/tyne/7063564.stm>, (Consulted 11/12/08)
- ¹⁰ – Policies of non-communication are well-recognised by scholars in the field, see:
Cordess, Christopher and Turcan, Maja: ‘Art Vandalism’, *British Journal of Criminology*, Volume 33, Winter 1993, p97
Dornberg, John: ‘Art Vandals: Why Do They Do It?’, *Art News*, Volume 86, Number 3, March 1987, p104
Freedberg, David: *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, Chicago and London, 1989, p423
Gamboni, Dario: *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution*, London, 1997, p193
McKim-Smith, Gridley: ‘The Rhetoric of Rape, the Language of Vandalism’, *Woman’s Art Journal*, Volume 23, Number 1, Spring-Summer 2002, p30
- ¹¹ – ‘Art for Votes’ Sake: Visual Culture and the Women’s Suffrage Campaign’ ran from 2nd October until 20th December 2003.
- ¹² – Essam, Gillian: ‘Letter from Gillian Essam, Collection Information Manager of the National Gallery, to Gail Cameron, Curator of the Women’s Library’, 3rd June 2003, *National Gallery Archive*, Archive Office Dossier on Art Vandalism
- ¹³ – Cordess and Turcan: ‘Art Vandalism’, p97
- ¹⁴ – See Chapter Five.
- ¹⁵ – Gamboni: *The Destruction of Art*, p193
- ¹⁶ – This exhibition documented the restoration of Rembrandt’s *Danaë* after it had been slashed and doused with acid. See Chapter Three.
- ¹⁷ – The painting was disfigured on 22nd April 1961 by a man who threw a stone at it and ripped the canvas. For details see:
Anonymous: ‘Accused of Dalí Picture Damage’, *The Times*, 25th April 1961, p-
Anonymous: ‘Dalí Picture Damage: Man Sent to Hospital’, *The Times*, 2nd May 1961, p-

-
- Anonymous: 'Damage to Dalí Painting', *The Times*, 24th April 1961, p-
- The interactive computer program was brought to the author's attention by:
Visit to Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow (Conducted 22/10/07)
- ¹⁸ – Nick Flynn broke the vases on 25th January 2006 when he tripped on a staircase and fell into the recessed windowsill where they were displayed. The exhibition 'Mission Impossible?' took place between 1st July and 24th September that year. For details see:
Lewis, Tomos Dafydd: *Storytellers: When an Object is Damaged or Destroyed, Does its Restoration Enhance or Detract from its Role as an Object of Art and Object of History?*, Master of Arts (MA) Dissertation, School of Art History, University of St Andrews, UK, 2007, pp7-8
Anonymous: 'Chinese Vases', *The Fitzwilliam Museum Website*, www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/chinesevases/, (Consulted 06/09/07)
Anonymous: 'Exhibitions: Mission Impossible? Ethics and Choices in Conservation', *The Fitzwilliam Museum Website*, www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/whatson/exhibitions/article.html?142, (Consulted 10/12/07)
Anonymous: 'Historic Vases Smashed in Stumble', *BBC News*, 30th January 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/england/cambridgeshire/4662424.stm>, (Consulted 23/01/08)
Anonymous: 'The Restoration of the Chinese Vases', *The Fitzwilliam Museum Website*, www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/chinesevases/restoration.html, (Consulted 06/09/07)
Anonymous: 'Windowsill' Vases Stun Visitor', *BBC News*, 6th February 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/hi/england/cambridgeshire/4685130.stm>, (Consulted 23/06/06)
- ¹⁹ – Although there was some speculation at the time of the incident, ultimately the damage was pronounced to have been accidental.
- ²⁰ – Museums Association: *Code of Ethics for Museums*, London, 2008, p9
- ²¹ – Falk, John H. and Dierking, Lynn D.: *The Museum Experience*, Washington DC, 1992, p65-66
- ²² – For details see:
Jones, Jonathan: 'Why Would Anyone Want to Deface a Painting?', *The Guardian*, 6th March 1999, p-
Anonymous: 'Cincinnati Drops Charge that Yoko Ono Art was Vandalized', *The Beacon Journal*, 13th November 1997, p-
Anonymous: 'Man Charged with Vandalizing Ono Painting Says She's His Hero', *The Beacon Journal*, 8th November 1997, p-
Anonymous: 'Part Painting / A Circle', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/yoko_ono.html, (Consulted 28/04/06)
- ²³ – Anonymous: 'Man Charged with Vandalizing Ono Painting Says She's His Hero', p-
- ²⁴ – McGregor, Glen: 'Visitors Damage to Art at National Gallery Costing Hundreds of Thousands', *Victoria Times Colonist*, 1st September 2008, www.canada.com/victoriatimescolonist/story.html?id=dea9523f-4ca1-4461-827d-cb92ee0cf9f0, (Consulted 08/09/08)
- ²⁵ – Fine, Gary Alan and Shatin, Deborah: 'Crimes Against Art: Social Meanings and Symbolic Attacks', *Empirical Studies of the Arts*, Volume 3, 1985, p137
- ²⁶ – For more information on the Museums and Galleries Security Group see:
Burroughs, Katrina: 'Collection Protection', *Museums Journal*, May 2005, p27
Burroughs, Katrina: 'Foiling Thieves: Daylight Robbery', *Museum Practice*, Issue 30, Summer 2005, p35
Museums and Galleries Security Group: *Security in Museums, Archives and Libraries: A Practical Guide*, Re:source: The Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries Report, London, 2003, pv

²⁷ – For more information see:

Kisluk, Anna: 'Stolen Art and the Art Loss Register', Conference Paper Given at 'Art Crime: Protecting Art, Protecting Artists and Protecting Consumers', Australian Institute of Criminology, Sydney, 2nd-3rd December 1999, *Australian Institute of Criminology Website*,

www.aic.gov.au/conferences/artcrime/kisluk.pdf, (Consulted 11/12/08)

Anonymous: 'The Art Loss Register: History and Business', *The Art Loss Register Website*, www.artloss.com/content/history-and-business, (Consulted 05/12/08)

²⁸ – Anonymous: 'Why Vandalism?', *The London Evening Standard*, 25th March 1968, p-
A Young Woman Seated at a Virginal was cut with a sharp instrument on 22nd March 1968. See Chapter Four.

Bibliography

Primary Printed Sources

Books and Pamphlets

- Apollinaire, Guillaume: *The Cubist Painters*, (1913), trans. Peter Read, Forest Row, East Sussex, 2002
- Billington Greig, Teresa: *Towards Woman's Liberty*, London, 1913(?)
- Bourdieu, Pierre and Darbel, Alain: *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and their Public*, trans. Caroline Beattie and Nick Merriman, Cambridge, 1991
- Cicero: *The Nature of the Gods*, trans. P.G. Walsh, Oxford, 1997
- Gogol, Nicolai V.: 'The Portrait', (1841-1842), *Tales of Good and Evil*, trans. David Magarshack, New York, 1957, pp93-159
- Habermas, Jürgen: *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, trans. William Rehg, Cambridge, 1996
- Hirst, Damien: *I Want to Spend the Rest of my Life Everywhere, with Everyone, One to One, Always, Forever, Now*, London, 1997
- Metcalf, A.E.: *Woman's Effort: A Chronicle of British Women's Fifty Years' Struggle for Citizenship (1865-1914)*, Oxford, 1917
- Pankhurst, E. Sylvia: *The Suffragette Movement: An Intimate Account of Persons and Ideals*, London, New York and Toronto, 1931
- Richardson, Mary: *Laugh a Defiance*, London, 1953

Contemporary Articles and Periodicals

- Akinsha, Konstantin: 'The Icon and the Axe', *Art News*, Volume 101, Number 9, October 2002, p72
- Akinsha, Konstantin: 'Orthodox Bulldozer', *Art News*, Volume 103, Number 3, March 2004, pp140-143
- Alibhai-Brown, Yasmin: 'Unholy Row', *Museums Journal*, January 2006, pp16-17
- Allen, Vernon L. and Greenberger, David B.: 'An Aesthetic Theory of Vandalism', *Crime and Delinquency*, Volume 24, Number 3, July 1978, pp309-321

Apollinaire, Guillaume: 'And "The Guards Who Keep Watch at the Gates of the Louvre..." The Theft of the *Mona Lisa*', (1911), *Apollinaire on Art: Essays and Reviews 1902-1918*, ed. Leroy C. Breunig, trans. Susan Suleiman, London and New York, 1972, p178

Barnard, Matt: 'Kist and Tell', *Museums Journal*, February 2002, pp36-37

Beck, Ernest: 'Rocking the Boat', *Art News*, Volume 103, Number 3, March 2004, p64

Billings, Scott: 'It's Good to Talk', *Museums Journal*, November 2007, pp28-29

Birkett, Dea: 'Growing Pains', *Museums Journal*, September 2003, pp16-17

Birkett, Dea: 'MySpace Meets the Museum', *Museums Journal*, September 2007, pp30-33

Boccioni, Umberto: 'Plastic Dynamism', (1913), *Futurist Manifestos*, ed. Umbro Apollonio, trans. Robert Brain, London, 1973, p92-95

Boccioni, Umberto: 'The Plastic Foundations of Futurist Sculpture and Painting', (1913), *Futurist Manifestos*, ed. Umbro Apollonio, trans. Robert Brain, London, 1973, pp88-90

Boccioni, Umberto: 'Technical Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture', (1912), *Futurist Manifestos*, ed. Umbro Apollonio, trans. Robert Brain, London, 1973, pp51-65

Boccioni, Umberto, Carrà, Carlo, Russolo, Luigi, Balla, Giacomo and Severini, Gino: 'The Exhibitors to the Public', (1912), *Futurist Manifestos*, ed. Umbro Apollonio, trans. unknown, London, 1973, pp45-50

Boccioni, Umberto, Carrà, Carlo, Russolo, Luigi, Balla, Giacomo and Severini, Gino: 'Futurist Painting: Technical Manifesto', (1910), *Futurist Manifestos*, ed. Umbro Apollonio, trans. unknown, London, 1973, pp27-31

Boccioni, Umberto, Carrà, Carlo, Russolo, Luigi, Balla, Giacomo and Severini, Gino: 'Manifesto of the Futurist Painters', (1910), *Futurist Manifestos*, ed. Umbro Apollonio, trans. Robert Brain, London, 1973, pp24-27

Braham, Allan: 'The Restoration of the Leonardo Cartoon: Introduction', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, Volume 13, 1989, pp4-10

Braithwaite, Catherine: 'Headline News: Working with Journalists', *Museum Practice*, Issue 26, Summer 2004, pp44-47

Brighton, Andrew: 'Save our Souls', *Museums Journal*, July 2003, pp18-19

Brinkman, Manus: 'Opinion', *Museum Practice*, Issue 22, Spring 2003, p11

- Bruce, Katie: 'Case Study: Gallery of Modern Art', *Museum Practice*, Issue 44, Winter 2008, p52
- Burnham, Bonnie: 'Heritage Partnership: Exploring the Unknown', *Conservation: The Getty Conservation Institute Newsletter*, Volume 19, Number 3, 2004, pp5-11
- Burroughs, Katrina: 'Collection Protection', *Museums Journal*, May 2005, pp26-29
- Burroughs, Katrina: 'Foiling Thieves: Daylight Robbery', *Museum Practice*, Issue 30, Summer 2005, pp32-35
- Butler, Toby: 'Front-line Troops', *Museums Journal*, May 2001, pp26-27
- Cantsin, Monty: 'I was Arrested as well', *Flash Art International*, Volume 30, Number 194, May-June 1997, pp59-60
- Carter, Jon: 'A Question of Interpretation', *Museum Practice*, Issue 9, Volume 3, Number 3, November 1998, p13
- Cembalest, Robin: 'Damaging the David', *Art News*, Volume 90, Number 9, November 1991, p54
- Cembalest, Robin: 'Imperfect Moment', *Art News*, Volume 89, Number 6, Summer 1990, pp51-53
- Cembalest, Robin: 'The Obscenity Trial: How they Voted to Acquit', *Art News*, Volume 89, Number 10, December 1990, pp136-141
- Cohen, Stanley: 'The Politics of Vandalism, The Nature of Vandalism, Can It Be Controlled?', *New Society*, Number 324, 12th December 1968, pp872-878
- Cole, Robert: 'Give Security the Status it Needs', *Museum Practice*, Issue 8, Volume 3, Number 2, 1998, p12
- Cork, Richard: 'The Shock of the Old', *New Statesman*, 10th November 2003
- Cox, Miranda, Digger, Jo and Franklin, Carl: 'Art for the Very Young', *Museum Practice*, Issue 1, Volume 1, March 1996, pp27-28
- Csikszentmihalyi, Mihaly and Larson, Reed: 'Intrinsic Rewards in School Crime', *Crime and Delinquency*, Volume 24, Number 3, July 1978, pp322-335
- Davies, Aaron: 'Teen Spirited', *Museums Journal*, November 2007, pp34-35
- Davies, Maurice: 'Brave New World', *Museums Journal*, November 2007, pp22-27
- Davies, Maurice: 'Interactive Art Galleries', *Museum Practice*, Issue 16, Volume 6, Number 1, 2001, p25-33

- Davies, Maurice: 'Time to Get Professional', *Museums Journal*, February 2005, pp22-25
- Davis, Carol: 'A Public Display of Conservation', *Museums Journal*, June 2000, pp23-25
- Digger, Jo: 'Protection of Sculptures for Handling', *Museum Practice*, Issue 3, Volume 1, 1996, pp20-21
- Dornberg, John: 'Deliberate Malice', *Art News*, Volume 87, Number 8, October 1988, pp63-65
- Dubin, Steven C.: 'How 'Sensation' Became a Scandal', *Art in America*, Volume 88, Number 1, January 2000, pp53-59
- Duchamp, Marcel: 'The Great Trouble with Art in This Country', (1946), *The Writings of Marcel Duchamp*, eds. Michel Sanouillet and Elmer Peterson, New York, 1973, pp123-126
- Elam, Caroline: 'The Leonardo Cartoon', *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume 129, Number 1014, September 1987, p571
- Elam, Caroline: 'The Uffizi – not 'Grandi' but 'Nuovi'', *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume 137, Number 1104, March 1995, p147
- Farmery, Kate: 'If They Build it They Will Come', *Museums Journal*, April 2001, pp37-39
- Fleming, David: 'A Question of Perception', *Museums Journal*, April 1999, pp29-31
- Fleming, David: 'The Regeneration Game', *Museums Journal*, April 1997, pp32-33
- Flynn, Tom: 'Courting Controversy', *Museums Journal*, March 2004, pp18-19
- Flynn, Tom: 'Criminals Close in on Art to Finance Drugs and Arms', *Museums Journal*, December 2005, p8
- Freeman, Sarah: 'Causing a Promotion', *Museums Journal*, March 1997, pp28-29
- Gerson, H.: 'Cleaning *The Night Watch*', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Volume 89, Number 537, December 1947, pp344-345
- Gibbins, Ashley: 'Critical Times', *Museum Practice*, Issue 22, Spring 2003, pp37-38
- Goncharova, Natalya: 'Preface to Catalogue of One-Man Exhibition', (1913), *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*, ed. and trans. John E. Bowlton, London, 1988, pp54-59

Greenberg, Clement: 'Avant-Garde and Kitsch', (1939), *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism, Volume I, Perceptions and Judgments 1939-1944*, ed. John O'Brian, Chicago and London, 1986, pp5-22

Greenberg, Clement: 'Review of Two Exhibitions of Thomas Eakins', (1944), *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism, Volume I, Perceptions and Judgments 1939-1944*, ed. John O'Brian, Chicago and London, 1986, pp220-223

Habermas, Jürgen: 'Civil Disobedience: Litmus Test for the Democratic Constitutional State', trans. John Torpey, *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, Volume 30, 1985, pp95-116

Harding, Eric: 'The Restoration of the Leonardo Cartoon: The Repair and Restoration of the Leonardo Cartoon', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, Volume 13, 1989, pp16-21

Heal, Sharon: 'A Pilgrim's Progress', *Museums Journal*, May 2003, pp30-33

Heal, Sharon: 'Teenage Fanclub', *Museums Journal*, June 2004, pp30-31

Heal, Sharon: 'You Don't Know What You've Got 'Till its Gone', *Museums Journal*, July 2007, p4

Heywood, Felicity: 'Museums Score High on Public Trust but Low on Visits', *Museums Journal*, October 2004, p9

Hill, Charles: 'Crime Watch', *Museums Journal*, August 2003, pp16-17

Hind, John: 'Smashing up Art', *Blitz*, July 1991, pp96-97

Hirsch, Faye: 'Flick Show Draws Attacks', *Art in America*, Volume 92, Number 10, November 2004, p43

Hoek, Els: 'Blade Runners in Dutch', *Art in America*, Volume 77, Number 7, July 1989, p31

Hull, Lise: 'Wales and Scotland get Free Admission before England', *Museums Journal*, May 2001, p11

James, Merlin: 'A Visit to Kelvingrove', *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume CL, Number 1264, July 2008, pp477-478

Jones, David: 'Striking a Balance', *Museums Journal*, July 1997, pp29-30

Kennedy, Maev: 'No Comment', *Museum Practice*, Issue 22, Spring 2003, p39

Klaster, Jan Bart: 'Red Alert', *Art News*, Volume 91, Number 2, February 1992, pp31-32

Kozloff, Joyce, Neel, Alice, Rainer, Yvonne et al: 'On the Arrest of Jean Toche', *Art Forum*, Volume 12, Number 5, November 1974, p8

Levy, Martin and Flynn, Tom: 'Talkback: Should Christian Flick's Contemporary Art Collection be on Display at the Hamburger Bahnhof, Museum for the Present, in Berlin?', *Museums Journal*, November 2004, p19

Lewis, Jamie: 'To Catch an Art Thief', *Museums Journal*, June 2006, pp32-33

Lewis, Wyndham: 'To Suffragettes', *Blast*, Number 1, 20th June 1914, pp151-152

Longhenry, Susan: 'Labels for Contemporary Art, Indianapolis Museum of Art', *Museum Practice*, Issue 9, Volume 3, Number 3, November 1998, pp18-21

Lotz, Corinna: 'Common Touch', *Museums Journal*, December 2007, pp35-37

Lowenthal, David: 'Memory and Oblivion', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, Volume 12, Number 2, June 1993, pp171-182

Lowry, Glenn D.: 'From Duchamp to Malevich', *Flash Art International*, Volume 30, Number 194, May-June 1997, p59

MacRitchie, Lynn: 'Ofili's Glittering Icons', *Art in America*, Volume 88, Number 1, January 2000, p96

Malevich, Kazimir: 'Contemporary Art', *The World as Non-Objectivity: Unpublished Writings 1922-25*, ed. Troels Andersen, trans. Xenia Glowacki-Prus and Edmund T. Little, Volume III, Copenhagen, 1976, pp195-219

Malevich, Kazimir: 'From Cubism and Futurism to Suprematism: The New Painterly Realism', (1915), *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*, ed. and trans. John E. Bowlt, London, 1988, pp116-135

Marinetti, F.T.: 'The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism', (1909), *Futurist Manifestos*, ed. Umbro Apollonio, trans. R.W. Flint, London, 1973, pp19-24

Marshall, Tony: 'Vandalism: The Seeds of Destruction', *New Society*, 17th June 1976, pp625-627

Martin, David: 'Display Cases', *Museum Practice*, Issue 18, Volume 6, Number 3, 2001, pp49-51

Martin, David: 'Interpretation: Introduction', *Museum Practice*, Issue 5, Volume 2, Number 2, 1997, pp36-38

Martin, David: 'Security Case Study: National Trust Properties', *Museum Practice*, Issue 8, Volume 3, Number 2, July 1998, pp60-62

- Martin, David: 'Visitor Services Case Study: The Conservation Centre, National Museums & Galleries on Merseyside', *Museum Practice*, Issue 7, Volume 3, Number 1, March 1998, pp59-61
- Matisse, Henri: 'Appollinaire's Interview', (1907), trans. Jack D. Flam, *Matisse on Art*, ed. Jack D. Flam, London and New York, 1973, pp31-32
- Matisse, Henri: 'Observations on Painting', (1945), trans. Jack D. Flam, *Matisse on Art*, ed. Jack D. Flam, London and New York, 1973, pp101-102
- Morphet, Richard: 'Carl Andre's Bricks', *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume 118, Number 884, November 1976, pp762-767
- Morris, Jane: 'Class Divides Visitors', *Museums Journal*, November 2004, p15
- Morris, Jane: 'Coming Back for More', *Museums Journal*, January 2001, pp42-43
- Morris, John: 'Physical Protection: The First Line of Defence', *Museum Practice*, Issue 8, Volume 3, Number 2, 1998, pp47-50
- Mulhearn, Deborah: 'The Front Line', *Museums Journal*, January 2008, pp34-35
- Newman, Andrew: 'Social Exclusion Zone', *Museums Journal*, September 2001, pp34-36
- Nicolson, Benedict: 'Deterioration of Florentine Sculpture', *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume 118, Number 874, January 1976, pp3-6
- Nicolson, Benedict: '"The Night Watch' Restored', *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume 118, Number 884, November 1976, p731 and p781
- Nicolson, Benedict: 'T.1534. Untitled. 1966', *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume 118, Number 877, April 1976, pp187-188
- Nightingale, Julie: 'Classical Education', *Museums Journal*, November 2003, pp32-35
- Nordmarker, Anki, Norlander, Torsten, and Archer, Terry: 'The Effects of Alcohol Intake and Induced Frustration upon Art Vandalism', *Social Behavior and Personality*, Volume 28, Number 1, January 2000, pp15-28
- O'Neill, Mark: 'Kelvingrove Defended', *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume CL, Number 1262, May 2008, p330
- Pankhurst, Emmeline: 'My Own Story', (1914), *The Suffragettes: Towards Emancipation*, ed. Marie Mulvey Roberts and Tamae Mizuta, London and Tokyo, 1993
- Payton, Rob: 'Safety by Numbers', *Museum Practice*, Issue 22, Spring 2003, pp40-42

Pes, Javier: 'Made to Measure', *Museum Practice*, Issue 28, Winter 2004, pp28-31

Plutarch: 'The Life of Alexander', *The Age of Alexander*, trans. Ian Scott-Kilvert, introduction by G.T. Griffith, London, 1973, pp252-334

Politi, Giancarlo: 'Freedom to Breathe', *Flash Art International*, Volume 30, Number 194, May-June 1997, p88

Politi, Giancarlo: 'Zeno, Achilles and the Tortoise', *Flash Art International*, Volume 30, Number 194, May-June 1997, p59

Proudlove, Cathy: 'Display and Access', *Museum Practice*, Issue 18, Volume 6, Number 3, 2001, pp46-48

Proudlove, Cathy: 'Handle with Care', *Museums Journal*, March 2002, p18

Puttnam, David: 'Behind the Scenes at the Museum', *New Statesman*, 19th August 2002

Rainer, Leslie: 'The Conservation of Outdoor Contemporary Murals', *Conservation: The Getty Conservation Institute Newsletter*, Volume 18, Number 2, 2003, pp4-9

Randall, John: 'Art Galleries, Museums and the Under-Fives: The Pre-School Perspective', *Children Should be Seen & Not Heard!: Is There a Place for Young Children in the Art Gallery?*, Conference Papers Given in Association with the 'START' Project, Walsall Museum and Art Gallery, 21st-22nd June 1995

Rees Leahy, Helen: 'The Pompidou Effect', *Museum Practice*, Issue 28, Winter 2004, pp36-39

Rorimer, Anne: 'The Sculpture of Carl Andre', *The Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago*, Volume 72, Number 6, November-December 1978, pp8-9

Rosenbaum, Lee: 'Brooklyn Hangs Tough', *Art in America*, Volume 88, Number 1, January 2000, pp59-63 and p143

Rosenbaum, Lee: 'Hermitage Unveils Damaged Danaë', *Art In America*, Volume 85, Number 10, October 1997, p33

Rowlands, Penelope: 'Origins Bared', *Art News*, Volume 94, Number 8, October 1995, p71

Sabine, Jennifer and Gilmore, Elizabeth: 'Writing Readable Texts: Evaluation of the Ekarv Method', *Museum Practice*, Issue 5, Volume 2, Number 2, 1997, pp72-75

Saltz, Jerry: 'Idol Thoughts: Duchamp's Divine Urinal', *Modern Painters*, March 2006, pp38-39

- Shevchenko, Aleksandr: 'Neoprimitivism: Its Theory, Its Potentials, Its Achievements', (1913), *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*, ed. and trans. John E. Bowlt, London, 1988, pp41-54
- Shone, Richard: 'Museums in Britain: Bouquets and Brickbats', *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume CXLIX, Number 1256, November 2007, pp747-748
- Simpson, Michael: 'Plain Answers to Plain Questions', *Museum Practice*, Issue 5, Volume 2, Number 2, 1997, pp69-71
- Smith, Alistair and Ellis, Dick: 'Talkback: Does the Recent Series of Thefts Indicate that Respect for Museums is Declining?', *Museums Journal*, February 2005, p17
- Sokolov, Alexander: 'Alexander Brener: Chronicle of a Trial', *Flash Art International*, Volume 30, Number 194, May-June 1997, pp86-87
- Stephens, Simon: 'Taking Liberties', *Museums Journal*, December 2008, pp48-49
- Stewart, Brian: 'Ethics: Access', *Museums Journal*, November 2006, p17
- Stewart, Claire: 'Labelling Survey', *Museum Practice*, Issue 5, Volume 2, Number 2, 1997, pp66-68
- Swift, Frazer: 'A Good Idea', *Museum Practice*, Issue 5, Volume 2, Number 2, 1997, pp39-41
- Sykes, Gresham M. and Matza, David: 'Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency', *American Sociological Review*, Volume 22, Number 6, December 1957, pp664-670
- Tallman, Susan: 'Tempest over Slashed Newman', *Art in America*, Volume 80, Number 2, February 1992, p27
- Thomas, Pauline: 'Accessible Art', *Museum Practice*, Issue 5, Volume 2, Number 2, 1997, pp81-83
- Tortolero, Carlos: 'Do the Right Thing', *Museums Journal*, June 2003, pp20-21
- Tranter, Rachel: 'At Home with Art', *Museum Practice*, Issue 18, Volume 6, Number 3, 2001, pp17-20
- Trodd, Mark: 'Check Point: Procuring Security Systems and Services', *Museum Practice*, Issue 8, Volume 3, Number 2, 1998, pp53-55
- Wallis, H. F.: 'The Roots and Fruits of Vandalism', *Municipal Review*, Volume 46, Number 549, September 1975, pp168-170
- Ward, Robert and Howgill, Pat: 'Security Audits: Assessing Risks and Threats', *Museum Practice*, Issue 8, Volume 3, Number 2, 1998, pp45-46

- Westley, Hannah: 'Museums of Belonging', *Museums Journal*, March 2008, pp34-37
- Whittington, Amanda: 'Balancing Security and Access', *Museums Journal*, March 1998, p41
- Wyld, Martin: 'The Restoration of the Leonardo Cartoon: The History of the Cartoon', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, Volume 13, 1989, pp11-16
- Anonymous: 'Access: Helping Visitors Engage with Art', *Museum Practice*, Issue 8, Volume 3, Number 2, 1998, p7
- Anonymous: 'American Notes', *The Studio*, Volume VI, Number 10, 7th February 1891, p97
- Anonymous: 'American Notes', *The Studio*, Volume VI, Number 17, 28th March 1891, p162
- Anonymous: 'Case Study: Museum Store, National Museums of Scotland, West Granton', *Museum Practice*, Issue 1, Volume 1, March 1996, pp44-47
- Anonymous: 'Display Text', *Museum Practice*, Issue 5, Volume 2, Number 2, 1997, pp62-65
- Anonymous: 'Doubts over Effectiveness of CCTV Security Systems', *Museum Practice*, Issue 1, Volume 1, March 1996, p12
- Anonymous: 'Duchamp's Dada Pissier Attack', *Art in America*, Volume 94, Number 3, March 2006, p35
- Anonymous: 'Entirely Too Modest', *The Collector*, Volume II, Number 5, 1st January 1891, p66
- Anonymous: 'May-Day Facts, and Fancies', *The Collector*, Volume VI, Number 13, 1st May 1895, p207
- Anonymous: 'My Note Book', *The Art Amateur*, Volume 24, Number 5, 1891, p114
- Anonymous: 'My Note Book', *The Art Amateur*, Volume 24, Number 6, 1891, p140
- Anonymous: 'The Omaha Picture Thug', *The Collector*, Volume II, Number 1, 1891, p69
- Anonymous: 'Security: Introduction', *Museum Practice*, Issue 8, Volume 3, Number 2, 1998, pp41-42
- Anonymous: 'Untitled', *The Studio*, Volume VI, Number 11, 14th February 1891, p107

Anonymous: 'Vandal Attacks Ofili Madonna', *Art in America*, Volume 88, Number 2, February 2000, p31

Contemporary Authored Newspaper Articles

Alberge, Darya: 'Critic Savages 'Obscene' Price for Picasso', *The Times*, 3rd June 2004

Alberge, Darya: 'Man Lashes Out at £25m Painting', *The Times*, 8th November 2003

Alberge, Darya: 'Mystery, Intrigue and Stolen Paintings', *The Times*, 23rd August 2004

Alberge, Darya: 'Sotheby's Crushes Freud Painting', *The Times*, 28th April 2000

Allen, Peter: 'Monet Masterpiece Slashed by Drunks', *The Daily Mail*, 8th October 2007

Almendros, Cecile: 'Monet Painting Damaged During Orsay Break-In', *The Independent*, 8th October 2007

Barstow, David: '"Sensation' Exhibition Closes as it Opened, to Applause and Condemnation', *The New York Times*, 10th January 2000

de la Baume, Maïa: 'Four Masterworks Stolen from a French Museum', *The New York Times*, 7th August 2007

Beckett, Andy: 'Arts: A Strange Case', *The Independent*, 12th November 1995

Bell, Susan: 'One is Art, One is Vandalism – But Which is Which?', *The Scotsman*, 10th October 2007

Bennetto, Jason: 'Man Squirts Yellow Paint on National Gallery Rembrandt', *The Independent*, 6th August 1998

Besant, Annie: 'Letters to the Editor: The New Militancy', *The Times*, 5th October 1912

Bild, Peter and Kennedy, Maev: 'Shadow of Nazi Fortune Hangs over Art Display', *The Guardian*, 22nd September 2004

Blanchard, Tamsin: 'Sensation as Ink and Eggs are Thrown at Hindley Portrait', *The Independent*, 19th September 1997

Boggan, Steve: 'The Invisible Mending', *The Independent on Sunday*, 17th November 1991

Bone, James: 'Banksy Commits another Hanging Offence', *The Times*, 25th March 2005

- Bone, James: 'Brooklyn Protest at Virgin Painting', *The Times*, 18th December 1999
- Bone, James: 'Mayor Halts Feud with Museum over 'Sick' British Art', *The Times*, 29th March 2000
- Boyes, Roger: 'Norway Screams as Masterpiece is Stolen Again', *The Times*, 23rd August 2004
- Bremner, Charles: 'Vandals Leave a Poor Impression on Monet as Gallery Doors Fail', *The Times*, 9th October 2007
- Brooks, Libby: 'An Exhibition of Yourself', *The Guardian*, 27th October 2001
- Brooks, Xan: 'Chapmans Target Goya Again', *The Guardian*, 19th October 2005
- Browne, Anthony: 'Not a Whisper about Stolen Scream', *The Times*, 2nd May 2006
- Chittenden, Maurice: 'Dennis the Menace Lost in Great Museum Raid', *The Sunday Times*, 27th February 2005
- Chrisafis, Angelique: 'Blood Sculpture may be Ruined', *The Guardian*, 4th July 2002
- Chrisafis, Angelique: 'The Old Man and the Urinal – Paris Ponders a Surreal Question of the Value of Art', *The Guardian*, 23rd December 2006
- Clough, Patricia: 'Pieta is Smashed in St Peter's', *The Times*, 22nd May 1972
- Conrad, Peter: 'Guilty Pleasures', *The Observer*, 6th October 2002
- Cowell, Alan: 'Florence Journal; Over Masterpieces, Protection Vies with Access', *The New York Times*, 19th November 1991
- Cowell, Alan: 'Michelangelo's David is Damaged', *The New York Times*, 15th September 1991
- Cox, Roger: 'World Arts Digest: Berlin', *The Scotsman*, 25th September 2004
- Darlington, Shasta: 'Security Comes at a Price in Italy', *The Boston Globe*, 11th August 2005
- Delves Broughton, Philip: 'Catholic Defaces 'Virgin'', *The Daily Telegraph*, 18th December 1999
- Depalma, Anthony: 'No Stomach for Art', *The New York Times*, 8th December 1996

Depalma, Anthony: 'Student Says Vomiting on Painting was an Artistic Act', *The New York Times*, 4th December 1996

Diedrich, John: 'Three Arrested in Art Museum Vandalism', *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, 11th May 2005

Dolnick, Edward: 'Meanwhile: Art Wants to be Free', *The New York Times*, 4th August 2005

Elkins, Ruth: '“Nazi” Family Link Halts Mercedes Heir’s Efforts to Exhibit Art', *The Independent on Sunday*, 30th May 2004

Elkins, Ruth: 'Protesters Try to Halt Modern Art Show over Owner’s Link to Nazi War Criminal', *The Independent on Sunday*, 30th May 2004

Ellison, Michael: 'New York Seeks to Ban Britart Sensation', *The Guardian*, 24th September 1999

Feuer, Alan: 'Man is Arraigned in Defacing of Painting', *The New York Times*, 18th December 1999

Fineman, Mia: 'Art Attacks', *The New York Times*, 12th December 2004

Fleming, Nic: 'Art Protester Hurls Paint at Chapman', *The Telegraph*, 31st May 2003

Fogarty, James: 'Charge in Art Attack Dropped by '72 Ruling', *Omaha World-Herald*, 2nd February 1979

Follain, John: 'Italian Fury at Price Hike to ‘Put Off’ Tourists', *The Sunday Times*, 4th September 2005

Fouché, Gwladys and Bowcott, Owen: 'Tourists See Munch’s Scream Stolen', *The Guardian*, 23rd August 2004

Gamarekian, Barbara: 'Portrait of Jackson as White is Attacked', *The New York Times*, 1st December 1989

Gentleman, Amelia: 'Smile, Please', *The Guardian*, 19th October 2004

Gentleman, Amelia: 'Woman Joins Art Thief Son in Dock', *The Guardian*, 7th January 2005

Gibb, Frances: 'Royal Portraits Taken Off Display after Attack', *The Times*, 31st August 1981

Gibbons, Fiachra: 'Goya ‘will survive these twerps’ says Top Art Critic', *The Guardian*, 1st April 2003

Gibbons, Fiachra: 'It's On, It's Off, But is it Art?', *The Guardian*, 7th November 2001

Gibbons, Fiachra: 'Judges Switched on as Turner Prize Goes to the Creed of Nothingness', *The Guardian*, 10th December 2001

Gibson, Eric: 'Insult to Artistry: Modern Vandals Feed Off Greatness', *The Wall Street Journal*, 8th April 2003

Gmelin, Felix: 'Painting Modernism Black', *The Guardian*, 19th August 1994

Graham, Anne: 'Madman Rips up £25m Art Treasure', *The Daily Mirror*, 11th January 1990

Grieshaber, Kirsten: 'Attempted Art Attack', *The New York Times*, 2nd December 2004

Grimaldi, James V.: 'GAO Faults Smithsonian Upkeep and Security', *The Washington Post*, 29th September 2007

Gumbel, Andrew: 'Maybe the Art Vandals Actually do us all a Favour', *The Independent*, 24th August 1997

Gurney, Philip: 'Bouguereau's Realism Influencing Today's Art', *Dundee and West Omaha Sun*, 12th May 1960

Hall, Sarah: 'Thatcher Statue Attack 'A Satirical Gesture'', *The Guardian*, 17th December 2002

Henley, Jon: 'French Waiter Admits Mass Art Theft', *The Guardian*, 23rd May 2002

Henley, Jon: '€3m Urinal Survives Art Attack', *The Guardian*, 7th January 2006

Higgins, Charlotte: 'Work of Art that Inspired a Movement ... a Urinal', *The Guardian*, 2nd December 2004

Hilton, Tim: 'The Critics: Was this what the Academy Wanted?', *The Independent*, 21st September 1997

Hoyle, Ben: 'Hammer Attack on £1.7m Painting', *The Times*, 10th August 2007

Jacob, Gary: 'Chocolate Pele and Pandering to Platini's Ego', *The Times*, 31st May 2004

Januszczak, Waldemar: 'Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Guy', *Culture*, supplement of *The Sunday Times*, 30th November 2005, pp8-9

Jinman, Richard: 'Artful Dodger Banksy takes Manhattan', *The Guardian*, 26th March 2005

- Jones, Jonathan: 'It's Inciting Murder', *The Guardian*, 22nd January 2004
- Jones, Jonathan: 'Look What We Did', *The Guardian*, 31st March 2003
- Kanter, James: 'Vandal Punches Hole in a Monet in Paris', *The New York Times*, 8th October 2007
- Kaufman, Michael T.: "'Guernica' Survives a Spray-Paint Attack by Vandal', *The New York Times*, 1st March 1974
- Kaufman, Michael T.: 'Undoing Vandal's Work at Museum', *The New York Times*, 1st March 1974
- Kennedy, Maev: 'Infamous Bonfire of Turner's Erotic Art Revealed to be a Myth', *The Guardian*, 31st December 2004
- Kennicott, Philip: 'In Broken Baghdad, Photo Negatives', *The Washington Post*, 15th April 2003
- Kimball, Roger: 'Criticize, Don't Vandalize', *The Wall Street Journal*, 22nd January 2004
- Kimmelman, Michael: 'After a Bombing, the Uffizi Begins Recovery', *The New York Times*, 17th June 1993
- Kimmelman, Michael: 'History's Shadow is Cast at Berlin Show', *International Herald Tribune*, 29th September 2004
- Kimmelman, Michael: 'A Symbol of Freedom and a Target for Terrorists', *The New York Times*, 13th October 2007
- Kishkovsky, Sophia: 'Attackers Pillage Moscow Art Gallery and Beat Activist Owner', *The New York Times*, 22nd October 2006
- Landesman, Cosmo: 'The Intrinsic Power of Art', *The Spectator*, 4th October 1997
- Lawson, Carol: 'Chronicle', *The New York Times*, 10th August 1993
- Lichfield, John: 'The Moving of the Mona Lisa', *The Independent*, 2nd April 2005
- Lichfield, John: 'Pierre Pinoncelli: This Man is Not an Artist', *The Independent*, 13th February 2006
- Lichfield, John: 'Protester Tries to Chip Away at the Reputation of Duchamp's Urinal', *The Independent*, 7th January 2006
- Lister, David: 'Ayres Quits Royal Academy', *The Independent*, 20th September 1997

Lodge, Mary F.A. and de la Poer Beresford, C.E.: 'Letters to the Editor: Outrages at Picture Galleries', *The Times*, 25th May 1914

Loof, Susanna: 'Lichtenstein Painting Vandalised', *The Independent*, 5th September 2005

Losch, Susanne: 'Art Which Outraged Omahan 61 Years Ago is Shown Again', *Omaha Evening World-Herald*, 24th April 1951

Lyall, Sarah: 'British Artists have been Taking Risks, and Flak, for Years', *The New York Times*, 14th October 1999

Lyons, William: 'Lost Work of Art to be Restored after 'Vandalism'', *Scotland on Sunday*, 25th September 2005

MacDonald, Marianne: 'Reward Offered for Moore Statue's Heads', *The Independent*, 1st August 1995

MacDonald, Marianne: 'Vandals Cut Heads Off Moore Sculpture', *The Independent*, 21st March 1995

MacDonald, Marianne: 'Works the Critics Knew They Didn't Like', *The Independent*, 31st October 1995

MacMillan, Kyle: 'Joslyn Work Plays a Role in 'Age of Innocence' Scene', *Omaha World-Herald*, 5th October 1993

Majendie, Paul: 'Fans get to Decide if Turner Prize is Art', *The Scotsman*, 1st October 2007

Martinson, Jane: 'Mayor Abandons Britart Feud', *The Guardian*, 29th March 2000

Masterman, Sue: 'Rembrandt Disfigured', *The Times*, 15th September 1975

McCarthy, Rory and Kennedy, Maev: 'Babylon Wrecked by War', *The Guardian*, 15th January 2005

McFadden, Robert: 'Art Attack – Pensioner Causes Sensation at New York Gallery by Defacing Ofili Painting', *The Guardian*, 18th December 1999

McFadden, Robert: 'Painting in Disputed Exhibit Attacked by Man at Museum', *The New York Times*, 17th December 1999

McMahon, Barbara: 'Italy Moves to Protect its Heritage from Terror', *The Guardian*, 20th August 2005

Moore, Bidez Embry: 'Restored 'Spring' Returns to Joslyn', *Sunday Omaha World-Herald Magazine*, 27th June 1976

Morgan, Gary: 'Knife Vandal Slashes £8m Art Masterpiece', *Today*, 11th January 1990

Morris, Steven: 'Thatcher Accused Says: I'm No Criminal', *The Guardian*, 5th July 2002

Murdin, Lynda: 'Cartoon Attacker Sent to Hospital', *The Times*, 19th December 1987

Nunnally, Derrick: 'Two People Charged in Art Museum Vandalism', *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, 14th May 2005

Osborn, Andrew: 'Two Arrested over Hermitage Theft', *The Independent*, 7th August 2006

Overy, Paul: 'Tate Bricks Disfigured', *The Times*, 24th February 1976

Overy, Paul: 'This is so, isn't it?', *The Times*, 24th February 1976

Owen, Felicity: 'Behind the Scenes at the RA', *The Spectator*, 13th December 1997

Paterson, Tony: 'Berlin Plan to Exhibit Art Collection with Links to Third Reich', *The Independent*, 25th January 2003

Paterson, Tony: 'Protester Attacks Berlin Exhibition of Art 'Bought with Nazi Blood Money'', *The Independent*, 24th September 2004

Payne, Stewart: '"Comedian" is Jailed for Turner Prize Paint Attack', *The Telegraph*, 25th November 2003

Perkin, Corrie: 'Artwork Damaged at Embassy Bash', *The Australian*, 27th November 2006

Philp, Catherine and Alberge, Dalya: 'At \$135m, the Most Expensive Painting in the World; Gustav Klimt Portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer', *The Times*, 20th June 2006

Pilkington, Edward: 'Life, Death and the Meaning of a Two-Tone Sheep Dip', *The Guardian*, 19th August 1994

Popham, Peter: 'Vandal Attacks Art in St Mark's Square', *The Independent*, 30th June 2004

Purvis, Bob: 'Man Damages Old Master Painting at Milwaukee Art Museum', *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, 4th April 2007

Reid, Norman: 'Brick Sculpture at the Tate', *The Times*, 19th February 1976

Reynolds, Nigel: 'Hirst Gives Brush-Off to Royal Academy', *The Telegraph*, 10th September 1997

Reynolds, Nigel: 'Turner Prize Won by Man who Turns Lights Off', *The Telegraph*, 10th December 2001

Riding, Alan: 'Conceptual Artist as Vandal: Walk Tall and Carry a Little Hammer (or Ax)', *The New York Times*, 7th January 2006

Riding, Alan: 'Your Stolen Art? I Threw it Away, Dear', *The New York Times*, 17th May 2002

Russell, John: 'Healing a Disfigured Rembrandt's Wounds', *The New York Times*, 31st August 1997

Rydon, John: '£1 million Old Master Slashed in National Gallery', *The Daily Express*, 23rd March 1968

Santiago, Frank: 'Guards Left Art Patron Holding the Suspect', *Omaha World-Herald*, (...) January 1976

Santiago, Frank: 'Make-Believe Bomb Meant Trouble', *Omaha World-Herald*, 23rd January 1976

Schmemmann, Serge: 'Editorial Observer: Balancing Art, the State and Religion without Calling the Police', *The New York Times*, 23rd February 2004

Schumacher, Mary Louise: 'Martinifest Leaves Art Gallery Shaken and Stirred', *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, 27th February 2006

Schumacher, Mary Louise: 'On Public View, Art can be Vulnerable', *The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, 5th April 2007

Shinn, Matt: 'Blam! Pow! Splat!', *The Guardian*, 6th November 2003

Simons, Marlise: 'A Picasso is Severely Slashed by a Dutch Mental Patient', *The New York Times*, 18th May 1999

Simpson, Colin: 'The Tate Drops a Costly Brick', *The Sunday Times*, 15th February 1976

Smith, David: 'Ambassador, you're really spoiling our party', *The Observer*, 18th January 2004

Smith, David: 'Artist Hits at Tate 'Cowards' over Ban', *The Observer*, 25th September 2005

Smith, Roberta: 'Critic's Notebook: Why Attack Art? Its Role is to Help with Problems, Not Become a Problem', *The New York Times*, 13th May 2004

Speyer, Edward and Hitchens, Andrew K.: 'Letters to the Editor: The Rokeby Velasquez', *The Times*, 14th December 1905

Stafford, Peter: 'Brick Sculpture not the Original, Artist Confirms', *The Times*, 18th February 1976

Steele, John: 'Mentally Ill Patient Took Awayday Trip to Attack Painting', *The Daily Telegraph*, 6th July 1990

Stevenson, Richard W.: '"The Scream' is Back, But Where has it Been?', *The New York Times*, 5th June 1994

Sturcke, James: 'Baltic Exhibit Seized in Child Porn Inquiry', *The Guardian*, 25th September 2007

Thorpe, Vanessa: 'Artist Quits Academy over Refusal to Show Hindley Portrait', *The Independent*, 13th September 1997

Thorpe, Vanessa: 'Hindley Picture is a Sensation Too Far for Artist Ayres', *The Independent*, 21st September 1997

Tomasson, Robert E.: 'Chronicle', *The New York Times*, 2nd November 1990

Tremlett, Giles: 'Former Aide Guilty of Cutting Up Stolen Dalí Painting to Create Fake Masterpiece', *The Guardian*, 29th October 2004

Vallely, Paul: 'Banksy: The Joker', *The Independent*, 23rd September 2006

Vogel, Carol: 'Dutch Vandal Slashes Museums' Confidence', *The New York Times*, 27th November 1997

Vogel, Carol: 'Restored, but Still Blue', *The New York Times*, 4th January 2002

Vogel, Carol: 'A Vandalised Lichtenstein', *The New York Times*, 17th September 1993

Vogel, Carol: 'Vandals Attack Serrano Photo Exhibit in Sweden', *The New York Times*, 9th October 2007

Wallace, Arminta: 'Museums Brush off the Dust', *The Irish Times*, 13th March 2007

Wallace, Sam: 'Tate Protesters Wreck Artist's Unmade Bed', *The Telegraph*, 25th October 1999

Walsh, Nick Paton: 'It's a New Cultural Revolution', *The Observer*, 11th June 2000

Westley, Hester: 'Is this the New Brutalism?', *The Times*, 31st October 2007

White, Michael: 'Thatcher Statue Decapitated', *The Guardian*, 4th July 2002

Willsher, Kim: 'Priceless Paintings Stolen at Gunpoint from Nice Museum', *The Guardian*, 7th August 2007

Witheridge, Annette: 'US Protester Pours Paint on Ofili's Virgin Mary', *The Scotsman*, 18th December 1999

Wright, Lance: 'Tate's Brick Sculpture', *The Times*, 24th February 1976

Contemporary Anonymous Newspaper Articles

'Academy Outrage', *The Times*, 5th May 1914

'Accused of Dalí Picture Damage', *The Times*, 25th April 1961

'Acid Thrown at a Famous Rubens', *The Times*, 27th February 1959

'Another Academy Outrage', *The Times*, 13th May 1914

'Another Militant Outrage', *The Morning Post*, 13th May 1914

'Art Damage Suspect Found Too Ill Mentally for Trial', *Omaha World-Herald*, 20th April 1976

'Art Gallery Outrage', *The Manchester Guardian*, 5th April 1913

'Art Gallery Outrage', *The Manchester Guardian*, 12th April 1913

'Art Treasures', *The Standard*, 14th March 1914

'Art Vandalism Trial', *The Times*, 9th February 1990

'Black Sheep, White Sheep', *The Guardian*, 14th August 1994

'Bottle of Ink Thrown at Leonardo', *The Times*, 28th June 1962

'Boy, 12, Gums up Pricey DIA Artwork', *Detroit Free Press*, 28th February 2006

'A Brick is a Rose is a Primrose', *The Times*, 21st February 1976

'Cincinnati Drops Charge that Yoko Ono Art was Vandalized', *The Beacon Journal*, 13th November 1997

'City Art Gallery', *The Manchester Evening News*, 5th April 1913

'Cotton Versus Art', *The Manchester Courier*, 8th April 1913

'Dalí Picture Damage: Man Sent to Hospital', *The Times*, 2nd May 1961

- ‘Damage to Dalí Painting’, *The Times*, 24th April 1961
- ‘The Damaged Venus’, *The Times*, 12th March 1914
- ‘The Damaged Venus’, *The Times*, 13th March 1914
- ‘David’s Toe Smasher at Work Again’, *The Guardian*, 18th October 2005
- ‘Da Vinci Shooting was a ‘Political Protest’’, *The Times*, 14th November 1987
- ‘The Diary: Seventy-Five Years Ago – 1890’, *Omaha Evening World-Herald*, 15th December 1965
- ‘Doré Gallery Outrage’, *The Times*, 4th June 1914
- ‘Down with a Crash: The Front Wall of the D.M. Steele Building Crumbles’, *Omaha World-Herald*, 29th January 1891
- ‘Duchamp Urinal Conviction Upheld’, *The Independent*, 10th February 2007
- ‘Edinburgh Suffragette Sent to Prison’, *The Scotsman*, 4th July 1914
- ‘Ex-soldier Sent to Broadmoor’, *The Guardian*, 19th December 1987
- ‘Famous Picture Hacked’, *The Standard*, 11th March 1914
- ‘Footlights: Shattered’, *The New York Times*, 14th October 1997
- ‘Gunman Damages Leonardo ‘Cartoon’’, *The Independent*, 18th July 1987
- ‘Hammer Attack on Sculpture’, *The Times*, 7th January 2006
- ‘Hindley Painting Prompts Outcry’, *The Independent*, 26th July 1997
- ‘Hindley Wants Portrait Withdrawn’, *The Independent*, 31st July 1997
- ‘Hope of Restoring Rubens’, *The Times*, 28th February 1959
- “‘Iron Lady’ Unveils her Bronze Statue’, *The Scotsman*, 22nd February 2007
- ‘Joslyn Case Suspect ‘Mentally Ill’’, *Omaha World-Herald*, 3rd April 1976
- ‘Joslyn Corrects Donor’s Name’, *Omaha World-Herald*, 14th January 1976
- ‘Leonardo Damage Charge’, *The Times*, 29th June 1962
- ‘Leonardo Ready for Display Again’, *The Times*, 30th June 1962
- ‘Leonardo on View Again’, *The Times*, 6th July 1962

‘Leonardo’s ‘La Gioconda’: Disappearance from the Louvre’, *The Times*, 23rd August 1911

‘London’s Loss by Suffragettes’, *The Standard*, 12th March 1914

‘Man Charged with Vandalizing Ono Painting Says She’s His Hero’, *The Beacon Journal*, 8th November 1997

‘Man Facing Art Damage Charge’, *Omaha World-Herald*, 12th January 1976

‘Manchester Art Gallery Outrage’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 4th April 1913

‘Mental Tests Suspect in Marring of Leonardo’, *The New York Times*, 21st July 1987

‘Messrs. Agnew’s Exhibition’, *The Times*, 7th November 1905

‘Militant with a Chopper’, *The Times*, 22nd July 1914

‘Militants and the King’, *The Times*, 26th May 1914

‘Militant Outrages’, *The Times*, 25th May 1914

‘The Militant Suffragists’, *The Morning Post*, 5th May 1914

‘Ministers and the Militants’, *The Times*, 12th June 1914

‘The Missing Leonardo: Possible Clues’, *The Times*, 26th August 1911

“‘Mona Lisa’ Under Glass’, *The New York Times*, 13th October 1907

‘More Suffragist Crime’, *The Times*, 4th June 1914

‘Mother Backs Son, 8, who Vandalised Art’, *The Times*, 20th August 1993

‘Mr. Lloyd George’s Advice to Suffragists’, *The Times*, 8th November 1913

‘Mrs. Pankhurst Sentenced’, *The Times*, 4th April 1913

‘Munch’s ‘The Scream’ Stolen from Exhibit’, *The New York Times*, 13th February 1994

‘Murder and Suicide in the National Portrait Gallery’, *The Times*, 25th February 1909

‘Museum Sues the Whitney Over a Disfigured Painting’, *The New York Times*, 8th August 1996

‘Museum Visitor Damages a Rembrandt’, *The New York Times*, 7th April 1990

- ‘National Gallery Outrage’, *The Morning Post*, 13th March 1914
- ‘National Gallery Outrage’, *The Times*, 25th January 1913
- ‘National Gallery Outrage’, *The Times*, 11th March 1914
- ‘The National Gallery Outrage: Reproduction of the Damaged Picture’, *The Times*, 11th March 1914
- ‘The National Gallery: Partial Reopening to the Public To-Day’, *The Times*, 25th March 1914
- ‘Outrage at the National Gallery’, *The Times*, 24th January 1913
- ‘Painting by Vermeer is Slashed’, *The Times*, 23rd March 1968
- ‘Painting Charge’, *The Daily Mail*, 1st August 1985
- ‘Painting Slashed’, *The Times*, 4th April 1978
- ‘Painting Slashed at Modern’, *The New York Times*, 16th January 1990
- ‘Painting Slashed in Brainstorm’, *The Independent*, 6th July 1990
- ‘Painting Vandalised’, *The Times*, 11th January 1990
- ‘Paintings Case’, *The Guardian*, 6th April 1982
- ‘Parliament’, *The Times*, 12th June 1914
- ‘Partial Reopening of the National Gallery’, *The Times*, 18th March 1914
- ‘People’, *International Herald Tribune*, 2nd September 2004
- ‘Picasso Gallery Closes after Vandals’ Attack’, *The Times*, 8th November 1971
- ‘Picasso Painting Slashed’, *The Topeka Capital – Journal*, 18th May 1999
- ‘Picasso Painting Slashed by Dutch Psychiatric Patient’, *The New York Times*, 17th May 1999
- ‘Picture Outrages Renewed’, *The Times*, 18th July 1914
- ‘The Police Courts: The National Gallery Outrage’, *The Times*, 1st February 1913
- ‘Prison for Attack on Royal Picture’, *The Times*, 17th September 1981
- ‘Protection of Pictures’, *The Manchester Daily Dispatch*, 8th April 1913

- ‘A Rembrandt Reported Slashed in Leningrad’, *The New York Times*, 14th March 1986
- ‘Repaired Vermeer on View’, *The Times*, 11th April 1968
- ‘Right to Approach the King’, *The Times*, 12th June 1914
- ‘The “Rokeby Venus” Damaged’, *The Morning Post*, 11th March 1914
- ‘Rubens Burned as Protest’, *The New York Times*, 15th June 1985
- ‘Rubens Fire ‘A Protest’, *The Times*, 15th June 1985
- ‘Rubens Work is Burned’, *The New York Times*, 14th June 1985
- ‘The Sadism that Inspires Art Vandals’, *The Sunday Telegraph*, 19th July 1987
- ‘Scottish Masterpiece Vandalised in US’, *The Guardian*, 10th April 2001
- ‘“Scream” is Found Undamaged in Norway’, *The New York Times*, 8th May 1994
- ‘Sheep Exhibit Attack ‘An Artistic Statement’’, *The Daily Telegraph*, 17th August 1994
- ‘Shotgun Attack on Leonardo Drawing’, *The Times*, 18th July 1987
- ‘Slashed Oil Painting: Man Accused’, *The Standard*, 11th January 1990
- ‘Slashed Van Gogh’, *The Times*, 27th April 1978
- ‘Slasher Ruins Picasso Work’, *The Guardian*, 18th May 1999
- ‘Smashed an Eighteen-Thousand Dollar Picture’, *New York Illustrated News*, Volume III, Number 154, 3rd January 1891, front page and p7
- ‘Statue of Margaret Thatcher Unveiled’, *The Guardian*, 22nd February 2007
- ‘Stone Thrown at Mona Lisa’, *The Times*, 31st December 1956
- ‘The Suffragettes’, *The Scotsman*, 26th May 1914
- ‘The Suffragettes’, *The Scotsman*, 27th May 1914
- ‘Suffragette Outrage’, *The Scotsman*, 25th May 1914
- ‘The Suffragist Demonstration’, *The Times*, 2nd July 1914
- ‘Suffragist Fires’, *The Times*, 21st April 1914
- ‘Suffragist Inscriptions on Plymouth Hoe’, *The Times*, 4th April 1913

- ‘Suffragists and the King’, *The Times*, 23rd May 1914
- ‘Suffragist Riot’, *The Times*, 22nd May 1914
- ‘The Suffragist Window Breakers’, *The Times*, 11th March 1912
- ‘Supposed Incendiarism by Suffragists’, *The Times*, 24th September 1913
- ‘The Suppression of Militancy’, *The Times*, 10th June 1914
- ‘Tate Gallery Defends Purchase of Bricks’, *The Times*, 17th February 1976
- ‘Tate Modern’s Crack Claims First Victims’, *The Times*, 10th October 2007
- ‘Tourist Rips a Painting’, *The New York Times*, 11th February 1983
- ‘Travel Advisory: Michelangelo Room in Uffizi Reopens’, *The New York Times*, 6th March 1994
- ‘Turner Painting Damaged’, *The Times*, 29th March 1982
- ‘Untitled’, *Art Business News*, 1st October 2003
- ‘Vandalized Rembrandt To Go Back on Display’, *The New York Times*, 28th April 1990
- ‘Van Gogh’s ‘La Berceuse’ is Slashed’, *The Times*, 6th April 1978
- “‘Venus’ Vandal Sentenced”, *The Standard*, 13th March 1914
- ‘Why Vandalism?’, *The London Evening Standard*, 25th March 1968
- ‘With an Assassin’s Hand’, *Omaha Daily Bee*, Number 181, 16th December 1890
- ‘Woman Defaced Painting’, *The Times*, 27th February 1963
- ‘Woman Kissed Painting’, *The Times*, 22nd November 1977
- ‘Woman’s Kiss Damages £10,000 Painting’, *The Telegraph*, 22nd November 1977
- ‘Youth Slashed Paintings to get Gaol Sentence’, *The Guardian*, 18th May 1982
- ‘Youth who Slashed Paintings Wanted Jail’, *The Times*, 18th May 1982
- ‘£1m Picture Slashed after Separation’, *The Times*, 22nd September 1990
- ‘3 Durer Masterpieces Vandalised with Acid’, *The New York Times*, 22nd April 1988
- ‘16th Century Painting Slashed’, *The Guardian*, 11th January 1990

Parliamentary Debates

The Parliamentary Debates (Official Report), Fifth Series – Volume LIX, House of Commons, Second Volume of Session 1914, Tuesday 10th March 1914, 1021-1196

The Parliamentary Debates (Official Report), Fifth Series – Volume LIX, House of Commons, Second Volume of Session 1914, Wednesday 11th March 1914, 1197-1356

The Parliamentary Debates (Official Report), Fifth Series – Volume LIX, House of Commons, Second Volume of Session 1914, Thursday 12th March 1914, 1357-1536

The Parliamentary Debates (Official Report), Fifth Series – Volume LIX, House of Commons, Second Volume of Session 1914, Monday 16th March 1914, 1633-1828

The Parliamentary Debates (Official Report), Fifth Series – Volume LXIII, House of Commons, Sixth Volume of Session 1914, Monday 25th May 1914, 1-130

The Parliamentary Debates (Official Report), Fifth Series – Volume LXIII, House of Commons, Sixth Volume of Session 1914, Thursday 11th June 1914, 453-628

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), Fifth Series – Volume 906, House of Commons, Session 1975-76, Comprising Period 23rd February – 5th March 1976, 24th February 1976, 113-196

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), Fifth Series – Volume 906, House of Commons, Session 1975-76, Comprising Period 23rd February – 5th March 1976, 2nd March 1976, 491-592

Reports and Reference Books

Adams, Eileen: *START: Evaluation Report*, Walsall Museum and Art Gallery Report, London, August 1995

Bailey, Stephen J., Falconer, Peter, Foley, Malcolm, McPherson, Gayle and Graham, Margaret: *To Charge or Not to Charge?*, Museums & Galleries Commission Report, London, November 1998

Barker, Mary and Bridgeman, Cressida: *Preventing Vandalism: What Works?*, Police Research Group Report, Crime Detection & Prevention Series Paper 56, London, 1994

Carter, Sophie, Hurst, Bethan, Kerr, Rachel H., Taylor, Emma and Winsor, Peter: *Museum Focus: Facts and Figures on Museums in the UK*, Museums & Galleries Commission Report, Issue 2, London, 1999

Coles, Peter: *Please Touch: An Evaluation of the British Museum Exhibition of Animal Sculpture*, Committee of Inquiry into the Arts and Disabled People Report, London, August 1984

Dodd, Jocelyn, O'Riain, Helen, Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean and Sandell, Richard: *A Catalyst for Change: The Social Impact of The Open Museum*, Heritage Lottery Fund Report, London, August 2002

Dodd, Jocelyn and Sandell, Richard: *Building Bridges: Guidance for Museums and Galleries on Developing New Audiences*, Museums & Galleries Commission Report, London, 1998

Education, Science and Arts Committee: *Should Museums Charge?: Some Case Studies (First Report)*, London, 1989

Graham, Robert and Prideaux, Adam: *Insurance for Museums*, Museums, Libraries and Archives Council Report, London, 2004

Hoare, Nell: *Security for Museums*, Committee of Area Museum Councils Report in association with the Museums Association, London, 1990

Martin, Andy: *The Impact of Free Entry to Museums*, MORI Report, London, March 2003

Menkes, Diana (ed.): *Museum Security Survey*, trans. Marthe de Moltke, International Committee on Museum Security, International Council of Museums, Paris, 1981

Munday, Val: *Guidelines for Establishing, Managing and Using Handling Collections and Hands On Exhibits in Museums, Galleries and Children's Centres*, Kids' Clubs Network Report, February 2002

Museums Association: *Code of Ethics for Museums*, London, 2008

Museums Association: *Museums & Galleries Yearbook 2006*, London, 2006

Museums & Galleries Commission: *Improving Museum Security: MGC Guidelines for Good Practice*, London, 1997

Museums and Galleries Security Group: *Security in Museums, Archives and Libraries: A Practical Guide*, Re:source: The Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries Report, London, 2003

University Museums Group UK: *University Museums in the United Kingdom: A National Resource for the 21st Century (Executive Summary and Recommendations)*, Norwich, May 2004

Scripts for Multimedia Productions

On Guard: Protection Is Everybody's Business, Script for Educational Programmes, produced by Elena Borowski, Office of Museum Programs, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, 1979(?)

Protecting Objects on Exhibition, Script for Educational Slide Show, produced by Elena Borowski, Office of Museum Programs, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, 1979

Primary Archival Sources

Catalogue Cards

Catalogue Card for *Astarte Syriaca* by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Manchester City Galleries*, (Consulted 12/04/06)

Catalogue Card for *Birnam Woods* by John Everett Millais, *Manchester City Galleries*, (Consulted 12/04/06)

Catalogue Card for *Captive Andromache* by Frederic Leighton, *Manchester City Galleries*, (Consulted 12/04/06)

Catalogue Card for *A Flood* by John Everett Millais, *Manchester City Galleries*, (Consulted 12/04/06)

Catalogue Card for *The Hon. John Lothrop Motley* by George Watts, *Manchester City Galleries*, (Consulted 12/04/06)

Catalogue Card for *The Last Watch of Hero* by Frederic Leighton, *Manchester City Galleries*, (Consulted 12/04/06)

Catalogue Card for *Prayer* by George Watts, *Manchester City Galleries*, (Consulted 12/04/06)

Catalogue Card for *The Shadow of the Cross* by William Holman Hunt, *Manchester City Galleries*, (Consulted 12/04/06)

Catalogue Card for *Sibylla Delphica* by Edward Burne-Jones, *Manchester City Galleries*, (Consulted 12/04/06)

Catalogue Card for *Syrinx* by Arthur Hacker, *Manchester City Galleries*, (Consulted 12/04/06)

Catalogue Card for *When Apples were Golden* by John Strudwick, *Manchester City Galleries*, (Consulted 12/04/06)

Correspondence

Ambrose, George: 'Letter from George Ambrose, Secretary of the National Gallery, to the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police', 25th May 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG6/28, p358

Ambrose, George: 'Letter from George Ambrose, Secretary of the National Gallery, to the Secretary of H.M. Treasury', 22nd May 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG6/28, p357

Dolman, D.S.: 'Letter from D.S. Dolman, Picture framer, to Sir Charles John Holmes, Director of the National Gallery', 1st June 1927, *National Gallery Archive* NG16/61 Dolman and Draper 1914-41

Essam, Gillian: 'Letter from Gillian Essam, Collection Information Manager of the National Gallery, to Gail Cameron, Curator of the Women's Library', 3rd June 2003, *National Gallery Archive*, Archive Office Dossier on Art Vandalism

Turner, Hawes: 'Letter from Hawes Turner, Secretary of the National Gallery, to the Secretary of the National Art Collections Fund', 22nd November 1905, *National Gallery Archive* NG6/25, p521

de Rothschild, Alfred: 'Letter from Alfred de Rothschild, Trustee of the National Gallery, to Charles Holroyd, Director of the National Gallery', 22nd May 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG7/447/3

Anonymous: 'Letter from the Secretaries of the National Art-Collections Fund to Hawes Turner, Secretary of the National Gallery', 28th February 1906, *National Gallery Archive* NG7/309/16

Memoranda

Collings, Mike: 'Memorandum concerning Damage to 'Waterlilies' at the National Gallery on 24th March 1997', 24th March 1997, *National Gallery Archive*, Archive Office Dossier on Art Vandalism

King, David: 'Memorandum concerning Suffragette Attack at the National Gallery on 22nd May 1914', 22nd May 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG7/447/2

Minutes of Meetings

'Minutes of Adjourned Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 24th March 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, pp180-182

'Minutes of Adjourned Special Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 17th March 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, pp176-179

'Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 2nd February 1885, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/5, pp320-324

'Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 2nd March 1885, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/5, pp325-327

'Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 19th December 1905, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/7, p255-260

'Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 3rd April 1906, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/7, pp273-275

'Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 11th March 1913, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, pp130-133

'Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 8th April 1913, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, pp134-137

'Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 6th May 1913, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, pp138-141

'Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 10th June 1913, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, pp142-145

'Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 11th November 1913, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, pp153-157

'Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 13th January 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, pp162-165

'Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 5th May 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, pp183-187

'Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 9th June 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, pp190-193

'Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 14th July 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, pp194-198

'Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 5th August 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, pp199-203

'Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 19th August 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, pp204-206

'Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 8th January 1918, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, pp386-389

'Minutes of Special Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 22nd November 1905, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/7, pp253-254

'Minutes of Special Meeting of the National Gallery Board', 28th January 1913, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, pp118-121

‘Minutes of Special Meeting of the National Gallery Board’, 10th March 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, pp173-175

‘Minutes of Special Meeting of the National Gallery Board’, 22nd May 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, pp188-189

‘Minutes of Special Meeting of the National Gallery Board’, 13th December 1917, *National Gallery Archive* NG1/8, pp384-385

Press Releases

‘Press Release: Art for Votes’ Sake: Visual Culture and the Women’s Suffrage Campaign 2 October – 20 December 2003’, July 2003, *The Women’s Library, London*

‘Press Release: Paintings Repaired After Damage’, 10th June 1982, *National Gallery Archive* HF1982/24

‘Press Release: Rembrandt’s Self Portrait at the Age of 63’, August 1998, *National Gallery Archive*, Archive Office Dossier on Art Vandalism

Reports

Holmes, C.J.: ‘Report of the Director of the National Gallery for the Year 1917’, 8th May 1918, *National Gallery Archive* NG17/8, pp1-17

Holroyd, Charles: ‘Report of the Director of the National Gallery for the Year 1913’, 16th February 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG17/8, pp1-17

Holroyd, Charles: ‘Report of the Director of the National Gallery for the Year 1914’, 10th February 1915, *National Gallery Archive* NG17/8, pp1-14

Holroyd, Charles: ‘Report of the Trustees of the National Gallery for the Year 1906’, 6th March 1907, *National Gallery Archive* NG17/6, pp1-23

Miscellaneous Archival Material

‘List of Pictures Damaged by Suffragette Outrage on 22nd May 1914’, 22nd May 1914, *National Gallery Archive* NG7/447/1

Photographs of *Return of Spring (Les Printemps)* by Bouguereau, taken during restoration in St Louis following an act of iconoclasm in 1976, *Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha*

Secondary Printed Sources

Articles and Periodicals

Alexander, Paul J.: 'The Iconoclastic Council of St Sophia (815) and its Definition (*Horos*)', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Number 7, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953, pp37-66

Anastos, Milton V.: 'The Ethical Theory of Images Formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Number 8, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1954, pp151-160

Anderson-Reece, Erik: 'Who's Afraid of Corporate Culture: The Barnett Newman Controversy', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Volume 51, Number 1, Winter 1993, pp49-57

Berman, Avis: 'Art Destroyed: Sixteen Shocking Case Histories', *Connoisseur*, July 1989, pp74-81

Billington, Rosamund: 'Ideology and Feminism: Why the Suffragettes were 'Wild Women'', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Volume 5, Number 6, 1982, pp663-674

Boylan, Patrick J.: 'Revolutionary France and the Foundation of Modern Museum Management and Curatorial Practice, Part II: David and Vicq d'Azyr, 1792-94', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, Volume 15, Number 2, 1996, pp117-131

Cohen, Stanley: 'Introduction', *Images of Deviance*, ed. Stanley Cohen, Harmondsworth, Baltimore and Victoria, 1971, pp9-24

Cordess, Christopher and Turcan, Maja: 'Art Vandalism', *British Journal of Criminology*, Volume 33, Winter 1993, pp95-102

Crow, Thomas: 'The Tensions of Enlightenment: Goya', *Nineteenth Century Art: A Critical History*, ed. Stephen F. Eisenman, London, 2001, pp78-97

Davis, Natalie Zemon: 'The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France', *Past and Present*, Volume 59, Number 1, May 1973, pp51-91

Dickenson, Victoria: 'The Economics of Museum Admission Charges', *Museum Management*, ed. Kevin Moore, London and New York, 1994, pp104-114

Dornberg, John: 'Art Vandals: Why Do They Do It?', *Art News*, Volume 86, Number 3, March 1987, pp102-109

Elsen, Albert: 'What We Have Learned about Modern Public Sculpture: Ten Propositions', *Art Journal*, Volume 48, Number 4, Winter 1989, pp291-297

Fine, Gary Alan and Shatin, Deborah: 'Crimes Against Art: Social Meanings and Symbolic Attacks', *Empirical Studies of the Arts*, Volume 3, 1985, pp135-152

Flam, Jack D.: 'Clara T. MacChesney: A Talk with Matisse, 1912', *Matisse on Art*, ed. Jack D. Flam, London and New York, 1973, pp49-50

Flam, Jack D.: 'Introduction', *Matisse on Art*, ed. Jack D. Flam, London and New York, 1973, pp9-29

Flood, Finbarr Barry: 'Between Cult and Culture: Bamiyan, Islamic Iconoclasm, and the Museum', *The Art Bulletin*, Volume 84, Number 4, December 2002, pp641-659

Fowler, Rowena: 'Why Did Suffragettes Attack Works of Art?', *Journal of Women's History*, Volume 2, Number 3, Winter 1991, pp109-125

Fuller, Peter: 'The Psychology of the Ripper', *New Society*, 31st July 1987, pp14-15

Gorvy, Brett: 'Massacre of the Innocents', *The Antique Collector*, Volume 64, Number 4, April 1993, pp60-63

Grogan, David: 'Once he vandalized Picasso's Guernica, but now Tony Shafrazi is a successful patron of the arts', *People Weekly*, Volume 21, 26th March 1984, p115

Harris, Neil: 'Exhibiting Controversy', *Museum News*, Volume 74, Number 5, September-October 1995, pp36-39 and pp57-58

Harrison, Brian: 'The Act of Militancy: Violence and the Suffragettes, 1904-1914', *Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain*, eds. Michael Bentley and John Stevenson, Oxford, 1982, pp26-81

Held, Julius S.: 'Alteration and Mutilation of Works of Art', *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Volume 62, Number 1, Winter 1963, pp1-28

Hind, John: 'Art Attack', *The Observer*, 27th January 2008

Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean: 'Counting Visitors or Visitors Who Count?', *The Museum Time-Machine: Putting Cultures on Display*, ed. Robert Lumley, London and New York, 1988, pp213-232

Hunt, Lynn: 'Introduction: The French Revolution in Culture: New Approaches and Perspectives', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Volume 22, Number 3, Spring 1989, pp293-301

Idzerda, Stanley J.: 'Iconoclasm during the French Revolution', *The American Historical Review*, Volume 60, Number 1, October 1954, pp13-26

Jones, Jonathan: 'Why Would Anyone Want to Deface a Painting?', *The Guardian*, 6th March 1999

Kastner, Jeffrey: 'Art Attack', *Art News*, Volume 96, Number 9, October 1997, pp154-156

Kitzinger, Ernst: 'The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Number 8, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1954, pp83-150

Ladner, Gerhart B.: 'The Concept of the Image in the Greek Fathers and the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Number 7, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953, pp1-34

Leneman, Leah: 'Martyrs in Our Midst: Dundee, Perth and the Forcible Feeding of Suffragettes', *Abertay Historical Society Publication*, Number 33, 1993, pp7-40

Macleod, Dianne Sachko: 'Art Collecting and Victorian Middle-Class Taste', *Art History*, Volume 10, Number 3, September 1987, pp328-350

McKim-Smith, Gridley: 'The Rhetoric of Rape, the Language of Vandalism', *Woman's Art Journal*, Volume 23, Number 1, Spring-Summer 2002, pp29-36

McMorris, Robert: 'Artists Have Flourished in Omaha since City's Earliest Days', *Omaha World-Herald*, 23rd May 1954

McMorris, Robert: "'Le Printemps' Revisited', *Omaha World-Herald*, 5th April 1973

Millard, Rosie: 'Vandalised Art: The Price of Graffiti', *New Statesman*, 12th July 2004

O'Neill, Mark: 'Essentialism, Adaptation and Justice: Towards a New Epistemology of Museums', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, Volume 21, Issue 2, June 2006, pp95-116

Sandell, Richard: 'Museums as Agents of Social Inclusion', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, Volume 17, Number 4, December 1998, pp401-418

Sarah, Elizabeth: 'Christabel Pankhurst: Reclaiming her Power', *Feminist Theorists: Three Centuries of Women's Intellectual Traditions*, ed. Dale Spender, London, 1983, pp256-284

Saumarez Smith, Charles: 'The Battle for Venus', *New Statesman*, 10th November 2003

Schama, Simon: 'The Naked Rembrandt', *The New Yorker*, Volume 75, Number 30, 11th October 1999, pp60-75

Scribner, Robert W.: 'Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside-Down', *Städtische Gesellschaft und Reformation*, ed. Ingrid Bátori, Stuttgart, 1980, pp234-264

Smith, William: 'Civil Disobedience and Social Power: Reflections on Habermas', *Contemporary Political Theory*, Volume 7, Number 1, February 2008, pp72-89

Stanley Holton, Sandra: 'In Sorrowful Wrath: Suffrage Militancy and the Romantic Feminism of Emmeline Pankhurst', *British Feminism in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Harold L. Smith, Aldershot, 1990, pp7-24

Teunissen, John J. and Hinz, Evelyn J.: 'The Attack on the Pietà: An Archetypal Analysis', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Volume 33, Number 1, Autumn 1974, pp43-50

Thomassen, Lasse: 'Within the Limits of Deliberative Reason Alone: Habermas, Civil Disobedience and Constitutional Democracy', *European Journal of Political Theory*, Volume 6, Number 2, April 2007, pp200-218

Warner, Marina: 'Smile and Be a Villain', *Connoisseur*, January 1983, pp28-30

Werner, Alfred: 'The Great Boug-Bear of Academic Painting', *The Antioch Review*, December 1955

Young, Iris M.: 'Activist Challenges to Deliberative Democracy', *Political Theory*, Volume 29, Number 5, October 2001, pp670-690

Books

Adams, Laurie: *Art on Trial: From Whistler to Rothko*, New York, 1976

Ambrose, Timothy and Paine, Crispin: *Museum Basics*, London and New York, 2003

Barber, Bruce, Guilbaut, Serge and O'Brian, John (eds.): *Voices of Fire: Art, Rage, Power, and the State*, Toronto, Buffalo and London, 1996

Barber, Charles: *Figure and Likeness: On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm*, Princeton and Oxford, 2002

Barker, Emma (ed.): *Contemporary Cultures of Display*, New Haven and London, 1999

Barrett, Terry: *Interpreting Art: Reflecting, Wondering, and Responding*, New York, 2003

Belcher, Michael: *Exhibitions in Museums*, Leicester, London and Washington DC, 1991

Bennett, Tony: *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, London and New York, 1995

- Besançon, Alain: *The Forbidden Image: An Intellectual History of Iconoclasm*, trans. Jane Marie Todd, Chicago and London, 2000
- Boldrick, Stacy and Clay, Richard (eds.): *Iconoclasm: Contested Objects, Contested Terms*, Aldershot and Burlington, 2007
- Bowler, Anne E: *Art and Politics in the Historical Avant-Garde: Italian Futurism and Russian Constructivism*, Ann Arbor, 1993
- Bryer, Anthony and Herrin, Judith (eds.): *Iconoclasm: Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, 22nd – 24th March 1975*, Birmingham, 1977
- Burke, Robert B. and Adey, Sam: *A Manual of Basic Museum Security*, Leicester, 1986
- Cherry, Deborah: *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture, Britain 1850-1900*, London and New York, 2000
- Christensen, Carl C.: *Art and the Reformation in Germany*, Athens, Ohio and Detroit, Michigan, 1979
- Clark, Kenneth: *The Nude: A Study of Ideal Art*, London, 1956
- Coffield, Frank: *Vandalism & Graffiti: The State of the Art*, London, 1991
- Colpitt, Frances: *Minimal Art: The Critical Perspective*, Seattle, 1990
- Conklin, John E.: *Art Crime*, Westport, Connecticut and London, 1994
- Crook, J. Mordaunt: *The British Museum*, London, 1972
- Devenish, David C.: *Museum Display Labels*, London, 1997
- Diserens, Corinne (ed.): *Gordon Matta-Clark*, London and New York, 2003
- Dollard, John, Miller, Neal E., Doob, Leonard W., Mowrer, O. H. and Sears, Robert R.: *Frustration and Aggression*, London, 1944
- Dolnick, Edward: *Stealing the Scream: The Hunt for a Missing Masterpiece*, Cambridge, 2007
- Duncan, Carol: *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*, London and New York, 1995
- Fahy, Anne (ed.): *Collections Management*, London and New York, 2003
- Falk, John H. and Dierking, Lynn D.: *The Museum Experience*, Washington DC, 1992

- Feldman, Paula, Rider, Alistair and Schubert, Karsten (eds.): *About Carl Andre: Critical Texts Since 1965*, London, 2006
- Feldman, Philip (ed.): *Developments in the Study of Criminal Behaviour: Volume 2: Violence*, Chichester, New York, Brisbane, Toronto, Singapore, 1982
- Fennelly, Lawrence J. (ed.): *Museum, Archive, and Library Security*, Boston and London, 1983
- Foddy, William: *Constructing Questions for Interviews and Questionnaires*, Cambridge, 1993
- Foster, Hal, Krauss, Rosalind, Bois, Yve-Alain and Buchloh, Benjamin H.D.: *Art Since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism*, London, 2004
- Fowler, Floyd: *Survey Research Methods*, Newbury Park, London and New Delhi, 1993
- Freedberg, David: *Iconoclasm and Painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands 1566-1609*, New York and London, 1988
- Freedberg, David: *Iconoclasts and their Motives*, Maarssen, 1985
- Freedberg, David: *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, Chicago and London, 1989
- Fromm, Erich: *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*, London, 1997 (1st edition 1973)
- Fulford, Roger: *Votes for Women: The Story of a Struggle*, London, 1957
- Gamboni, Dario: *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution*, London, 1997
- Garner, Les: *Stepping Stones to Women's Liberty: Feminist Ideas in the Women's Suffrage Movement 1900-1918*, London, 1984
- Goldberg, RosaLee: *Performance Art: From Futurism to the Present*, London, 1995
- Goldstein, Arnold P.: *The Psychology of Vandalism*, New York and London, 1996
- Gombrich, E.H.: *Ideas of Progress and their Impact on Art*, New York, 1971
- Goss, Steven: *A Guide to Art Vandalism Tools, Their History and Their Use: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 1996
- Grigely, Joseph: *Textualterity: Art, Theory, and Textual Criticism*, Ann Arbor, 1995

- d'Harnoncourt, Anne and McShine, Kynaston: *Marcel Duchamp*, London, 1973
- Harrison, Brian: *Separate Spheres: The Opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain*, London, 1978
- Henning, Michelle: *Museums, Media and Cultural Theory*, Maidenhead and New York, 2006
- Heuman, Jackie (ed.): *Material Matters: The Conservation of Modern Sculpture*, London, 1999
- Holmes, Charles and Collins Baker, C.H.: *The Making of the National Gallery 1824-1924*, London, 1924
- Hutchison, Sidney C.: *The History of the Royal Academy 1768-1968*, London, 1968
- ICOM and the International Committee on Museum Security: *Museum Security and Protection: A Handbook for Cultural Heritage Institutions*, London and New York, 1993
- Kaplan, Fred: *Thomas Carlyle: A Biography*, Cambridge, 1983
- Kentley, Eric and Negus, Dick: *Writing on the Wall: A Guide for Presenting Exhibition Text*, London, 1989
- King, Elspeth: *The Scottish Women's Suffrage Movement*, Glasgow, 1978
- Kingsley Kent, Susan: *Sex & Suffrage in Britain, 1860-1914*, London, 1990
- Koot, Ton: *Rembrandt's Night Watch: Its History and Adventures*, trans. C.M. Hutt, London, 1949
- Lamb, W.R.M.: *The Royal Academy: A Short History of its Foundation and Development to the Present Day*, London, 1935
- Leneman, Leah: *A Guid Cause: The Women's Suffrage Movement in Scotland*, Aberdeen, 1991
- Levitine, George: *The Dawn of Bohemianism: The Barbu Rebellion and Primitivism in Neoclassical France*, University Park and London, 1978
- Lévy-Leboyer, Claude (ed.): *Vandalism: Behaviour and Motivations*, Amsterdam, New York and Oxford, 1984
- Liddington, Jill and Norris, Jill: *One Hand Tied Behind Us: The Rise of the Women's Suffrage Movement*, London, 1978
- Lord, Barry and Lord, Gail Dexter (eds.): *The Manual of Museum Exhibitions*, Walnut Creek, Lanham, New York and Oxford, 2002

- Macdonald, Sharon and Fyfe, Gordon (eds.): *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World*, Oxford and Cambridge (MA), 2004
- Mackenzie, Midge: *Shoulder to Shoulder*, London, 1975
- Maclaren, Neil: *Velazquez: The Rokeby Venus in the National Gallery*, London, London, 1943
- Madison, Arnold: *Vandalism: The Not-So-Senseless Crime*, New York, 1970
- Marcus, Jane (ed.): *Suffrage and the Pankhursts*, London and New York, 1987
- Martin, John M.: *Juvenile Vandalism: A Study of Its Nature and Prevention*, Springfield, 1961
- Mason, Donald L.: *The Fine Art of Art Security: Protecting Public and Private Collections against Theft, Fire, and Vandalism*, New York, 1979
- McClanan, Anne and Johnson, Jeffrey (eds.): *Negating the Image: Case Studies in Iconoclasm*, Aldershot and Burlington, 2005
- McClellan, Andrew: *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, Cambridge, 1994
- Merrill, Linda: *A Pot of Paint: Aesthetics on Trial in Whistler v. Ruskin*, Washington and London, 1992
- Merriman, Nick: *Beyond the Glass Case: The Past, the Heritage and the Public in Britain*, Leicester, London and New York, 1991
- Merryman, John Henry and Elsen, Albert E. (eds.): *Law, Ethics and the Visual Arts*, Fourth Edition, London, The Hague and New York, 2002
- Miller, Neal E. and Dollard, John: *Social Learning and Imitation*, New Haven, 1941
- Mills, John S. and Smith, Perry (eds.): *Cleaning, Retouching and Coatings: Technology and Practice for Easel Paintings and Polychrome Sculpture*, Preprints of the Contributions to the Brussels Congress, The International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, 3rd – 7th September 1990, London, 1990
- Mitchell, David: *The Pankhursts*, Geneva, 1970
- Mitchell, David: *Queen Christabel: A Biography of Christabel Pankhurst*, London, 1977
- Mitchell, W.J.T. (ed.): *Art and the Public Sphere*, Chicago and London, 1992
- Mount, Charles Merrill: *John Singer Sargent: A Biography*, New York, 1969

- Myers, Alice and Wight, Sarah (eds.): *No Angels: Women who Commit Violence*, London and San Francisco, 1996
- Nead, Lynda: *The Female Nude: Art, Obscenity and Sexuality*, London and New York, 1994
- Nead, Lynda: *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain*, Oxford and New York, 1988
- Nicolaus, Knut: *The Restoration of Paintings*, trans. Judith Hayward, Iain Macmillan, Martin Pearce, Judith Phillips, Michael Scuffil, J. A. Underwood and Anthony Vivis, Cologne, 1998
- Oddy, Andrew (ed.): *The Art of the Conservator*, London, 1992
- Oliver, Bette W.: *From Royal to National: The Louvre Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale*, Lanham and Plymouth, 2007
- Oppenheim, A.N.: *Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude Measurement*, London and New York, 1996
- Pearce, Susan (ed.): *Art in Museums*, London and Atlantic Highlands NJ, 1995
- Perry, Gill (ed.): *Gender and Art*, New Haven and London, 1999
- Phillips, Mary: *The Militant Suffrage Campaign in Perspective*, London, 1957
- Piotrovsky, Mikhail (ed.): *Danaë: The Fate of Rembrandt's Masterpiece*, St Petersburg, 1997
- Purvis, June and Stanley Holton, Sandra (eds.): *Votes for Women*, London and New York, 2000
- Rachlin, Harvey: *Scandals, Vandals and da Vincis: A Gallery of Remarkable Art Tales*, London, 2007
- Raeburn, Antonia: *The Militant Suffragettes*, introduction by J.B. Priestley, London, 1973
- Ratcliff, Carter: *James Singer Sargent*, Oxford, 1983
- Read, Herbert and Stangos, Nikos (eds.): *The Thames & Hudson Dictionary of Art and Artists*, London, 1994
- Reinink, Wessel and Stumpel, Jeroen (eds.): *Memory & Oblivion: Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art held in Amsterdam, 1-7 September 1996*, Dordrecht, 1999
- Rosen, Andrew: *Rise Up, Women! The Militant Campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union 1903-1914*, London and Boston, 1974

Rothfield, Lawrence (ed.): *Unsettling "Sensation": Arts-Policy Lessons from the Brooklyn Museum of Art Controversy*, New Brunswick, New Jersey and London, 2001

Rumsey, Deborah: *Statistics for Dummies*, Indianapolis, 2003

Sahas, Daniel J.: *Icon and Logos: Sources in Eighth-Century Iconoclasm*, Toronto, Buffalo and London, 1986

Sandell, Richard: *Museums, Prejudice and the Reframing of Difference*, London and New York, 2007

Sax, Joseph L.: *Playing Darts with a Rembrandt: Public and Private Rights in Cultural Treasures*, Ann Arbor, 2004

Scheff, Thomas J.: *Being Mentally Ill: A Sociological Theory*, Second Edition, New York, 1984

Schmuller, Joseph: *Statistical Analysis with Excel for Dummies*, Indianapolis, 2005

Scottish Museums Council: *Museums are for People*, Edinburgh, 1985

Senie, Harriet F. and Webster, Sally (eds.): *Critical Issues in Public Art: Content, Context, and Controversy*, Washington and London, 1998

Serota, Nicholas: *Experience or Interpretation: The Dilemma of Museums of Modern Art*, London, 1996

Serrell, Beverly: *Making Exhibit Labels: A Step-by-Step Guide*, Nashville, 1988

Shield, Peter: *Comparative Vandalism: Asger Jorn and the Artistic Attitude to Life*, Aldershot, Vermont and Copenhagen, 1998

Stanley Holton, Sandra: *Feminism and Democracy: Women's Suffrage and Reform Politics in Britain 1900-1918*, Cambridge, 1986

Sykes, Jane (ed.): *Designing Against Vandalism*, London, 1979

Szasz, Thomas S. (ed.): *The Age of Madness: The History of Involuntary Mental Hospitalization Presented in Selected Texts*, London, 1975

Tamen, Miguel: *Friends of Interpretable Objects*, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 2001

Tickner, Lisa: *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign 1907-14*, London, 1987

Tisdall, Caroline and Bozzolla, Angelo: *Futurism*, London, 1977

Tuer, Andrew W.: *Bartolozzi and his Works*, Second Edition, London and New York, 1885

Walker, John A.: *Art in the Age of Mass Media*, Revised Edition, London, 1994

Ward, Colin (ed.): *Vandalism*, London, 1973

Whitehead, Christopher: *The Public Art Museum in Nineteenth Century Britain: The Development of the National Gallery*, Aldershot and Burlington, 2005

van Wingerden, Sophia A.: *The Women's Suffrage Movement in Britain, 1866-1928*, London and New York, 1999

Zedner, Lucia: *Women, Crime, and Custody in Victorian England*, Oxford, 1991

Exhibition Catalogues and Leaflets

Adams, Brooks, Jardine, Lisa, Maloney, Martin, Rosenthal, Norman and Shone, Richard: *Sensation: Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection*, Exhibition Catalogue: Royal Academy of Arts, 18th September – 28th December 1997, London, 1997

Camfield, William A.: *Marcel Duchamp: Fountain*, Exhibition Catalogue: The Menil Collection, 23rd December 1987 – 2nd October 1988, Houston, 1989

Latour, Bruno and Weibel, Peter (eds.): *Iconoclasm: Beyond the Image Wars in Science, Religion and Art*, Exhibition Catalogue: ZKM Center for Art and Media, Karlsruhe, 4th May – 4th August 2002, Karlsruhe, 2002

Waterfield, Giles (ed.): *Palaces of Art : Art Galleries in Britain 1790-1990*, Exhibition Catalogue: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 27th November 1991 – 1st March 1992; National Gallery of Scotland 12th March – 3rd May 1992, London, 1991

Callum Innes: From Memory, Exhibition Leaflet: Kettle's Yard, Cambridge, 28th July – 23rd September 2007

William Bouguereau 1825-1905, Exhibition Catalogue: Musée du Petit-Palais, Paris, 9th Février – 6th Mai 1984; Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal, 22nd Juin – 23rd Septembre 1984; The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, 27th Octobre 1984 – 13th Janvier 1985

Reviews

Anderson-Spivy, Alexandra: 'The Freeze Generation and Beyond' (Exhibition Review), *Art Journal*, Volume 57, Number 3, Autumn 1998, pp88-91

Bois, Yve-Alain: 'Here to There and Back – Barnett Newman Retrospective' (Exhibition Review), *Art Forum*, Volume 40, Number 7, March 2002, pp100-108

Bryson, Norman: 'The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution' (Book Review), *Art Forum International*, Volume 36, Number 10, Summer 1998, p39

Bull, Malcolm: "'The Power of Images' by David Freedberg' (Book Review), *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume 133, Number 1055, February 1991, pp125-126

Collings, Matthew: "'Sensation': Royal Academy of Arts' (Exhibition Review), *Art Forum*, Volume 36, Number 5, January 1998, pp94-95

Garnett, Robert: 'Gimme More' (Book Review), *Art Monthly*, Number 211, November 1997, pp40-41

Indyke, Dottie: 'Insight Out: Reversing Vandalism' (Exhibition Review), *Art News*, Volume 104, Number 6, June 2005, pp130-131

Lapp, Axel: 'The Friedrich Christian Flick Collection' (Exhibition Review), *Art Monthly*, Number 282, December 2004 – January 2005, pp20-21

Rapp, Christopher: 'Dung Deal – Brooklyn Museum of Art's "Sensation" Exhibition' (Exhibition Review), *National Review*, 25th October 1999

Schjeldahl, Peter: 'Those Nasty Brits: How Sensational is "Sensation"?' (Exhibition Review), *The New Yorker*, Volume 75, Number 30, 11th October 1999, pp104-105

Schwartz, Gary: 'Attacking Art' (Book Review), *Art in America*, Volume 86, Number 7, July 1998, pp29-31

Unpublished Theses and Dissertations

Lewis, Tomos Dafydd: *Storytellers: When an Object is Damaged or Destroyed, Does its Restoration Enhance or Detract from its Role as an Object of Art and Object of History?*, Master of Arts (MA) Dissertation, School of Art History, University of St Andrews, UK, 2007

Rimmer, Cate: *Fox in the Henhouse: Acts of Mischief and Malice by Artists in Galleries and Museums*, Master of Letters (M.Litt) Dissertation, School of Art History, University of St Andrews, UK, 2005

Lectures and Talks

'Rethinking Museums: The Experience of Kelvingrove', Lecture by Mark O'Neill, Head of Arts & Museums at Glasgow City Council, University of St Andrews Museums, Galleries and Collections Institute 2nd Annual Public Lecture (Given in St Andrews, 04/10/06)

‘Creating Value: Thriving in the 21st Century’, Lecture by John Falk and Lynn Dierking, Sea Grant Professors in Free-Choice Learning at Oregon State University, Museums Association Conference 2007 (Given in Glasgow, 23/10/07)

Films

Gone with the Wind, (Feature Film), directed by Victor Fleming, 1939, Colour, 224 minutes

Personal Visits

Visit to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Conducted 15/09/07)

Visit to Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow (Conducted 22/10/07)

Visit to Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow (Conducted 01/09/08)

Personal Correspondences and Interviews

Correspondence with Louise Anderson, Press and Marketing Manager at The Fruitmarket Gallery, Edinburgh, UK (Sent 13/12/05)

Correspondence with Hildegard Berwick, Curator at Lillie Art Gallery, Milngavie, UK (Sent 21/08/06)

Correspondence with Alison Bevan, Director at Penlee House Gallery & Museum, Penzance, UK (Sent 16/12/05)

Correspondence with William Brown, National Security Adviser at the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council, London, UK (Sent 28/01/08)

Interview with William Brown, National Security Adviser at the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council, London, UK (Conducted 27/03/08)

Correspondence with William Brown, National Security Adviser at the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council, London, UK (Sent 16/12/08)

Correspondence with Jon Campbell, Head of Visitor Services and Security at National Gallery, London, UK (Sent 21/11/05)

Correspondence with Simon Cane, Head of Collection Care and Conservation at Birmingham Museums & Art Gallery, Birmingham, UK (Sent 09/11/05)

Correspondence with Leslie Carlyle, Head of Conservation at Tate, London, UK (Sent 11/11/05)

Correspondence with Nicola Christie, Head of Paintings Conservation at National Museums Liverpool, Liverpool, UK (Sent 16/11/05)

Correspondence with Alan Crookham, Archivist at National Gallery, London, UK (Sent 23/03/06)

Correspondence with Alan Crookham, Archivist at National Gallery, London, UK (Sent 30/03/06)

Correspondence with Lorri Dunwoody, Registrar at Indiana State Museum and Historic Sites, USA (Sent 04/10/05)

Correspondence with Patrick Elliot, Senior Curator at Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh, UK (Sent 01/09/06)

Correspondence with Jan Evans, Volunteer of Fine Art Department at Manchester City Galleries, Manchester, UK (Sent 12/04/06)

Correspondence with Oliver Fairclough, Keeper of Art at National Museum Wales, Cardiff, UK (Sent 24/08/06)

Correspondence with Judith Gowland, Freelance Conservator based in North Yorkshire, UK (Sent 16/11/05)

Correspondence with Mary Griffiths, Curator of Modern Art at Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester, Manchester, UK (Sent 15/02/08)

Correspondence with Richard Hawkes, Conservator at *Artworks Conservation*, based in Harrogate, UK (Sent 07/11/05)

Correspondence with Meera Hindocha, Press & Marketing Officer at Modern Art Oxford, Oxford, UK (Sent 02/12/05)

Correspondence with Sam Howard, Marketing Assistant at Imperial War Museum North, Manchester, UK (Sent 05/03/08)

Correspondence with Charlotte Hubbard, Head Sculpture Conservator at Victoria and Albert Museum, London, UK (Sent 29/11/05)

Correspondence with Mark Janzen, Registrar / Collections Manager at Edwin A. Ulrich Museum of Art and Martin H. Bush Outdoor Sculpture Collection, Wichita State University, Wichita, USA (Sent 04/10/05)

Correspondence with Vincent Kelly, Collections Management Officer at Manchester City Galleries, Manchester, UK (Sent 29/03/06)

Correspondence with Samantha Lackey, Assistant Curator at Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester, Manchester, UK (Sent 20/02/08)

Correspondence with Samantha Lackey, Assistant Curator at Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester, Manchester, UK (Sent 04/03/08)

Correspondence with Michael Langston, Head of Visitor, Gallery and Security Services at Ulster Museum, Belfast, UK (Sent 04/11/05)

Correspondence with Kathryn Legg, PA to Dennis Ahern, Head of Safety and Security at Tate Modern, London, UK (Sent 07/11/05)

Correspondence with Nancy Loader, PR and Press Officer at Geffrye Museum, London, UK (Sent 16/02/06)

Correspondence with Alfred Longhurst, Security Consultant at *Longhurst Security Consultancy*, based in Sanderstead, UK (Sent 19/12/05)

Correspondence with Josephine Lyons, Assistant to the Director at Modern Art Oxford, Oxford, UK (Sent 20/02/08)

Correspondence with Josephine Lyons, Assistant to the Director at Modern Art Oxford, Oxford, UK (21/02/08)

Correspondence with Paul Nicoll, Estate & Property Manager at Wallington, Northumberland, UK (Sent 19/08/06)

Correspondence with Roy Perry, Former Head of Conservation at Tate, London, UK (Sent 07/11/05)

Correspondence with Derek Pullen, Head of Sculpture Conservation at Tate, London, UK (Sent 11/11/05)

Telephone Interview with Derek Pullen, Head of Sculpture Conservation at Tate, London, UK (Conducted 17/11/05)

Correspondence with Richard Rogers, Director of Projects and Exhibitions at *Plowden & Smith Ltd* (Conservators), based in London, UK (Sent 18/11/05)

Correspondence with Liz Rose, Conservator at *Egan, Matthews and Rose*, based in Dundee, UK (Sent 22/12/05)

Correspondence with Lucia Scalisi, Freelance Painting Conservator based in London, UK (Sent 21/11/05)

Correspondence with Michael Simpson, Head of Galleries at The Lowry, Salford, UK (Sent 10/03/08)

Correspondence with Penelope M. Smith, Registrar of Collections at Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, USA (Sent 04/10/05)

Correspondence with Penelope M. Smith, Registrar of Collections at Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, USA (Sent 14/10/05)

Correspondence with Penelope M. Smith, Registrar of Collections at Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, USA (Sent 16/06/08)

Correspondence with Martyn Sodergren, Security Consultant at *Martyn Sodergren & Associates*, based in Orpington, UK (Sent 01/12/05)

Correspondence with Lesley Stevenson, Senior Conservator of Paintings at National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK (Sent 08/11/05)

Correspondence with Lesley Stevenson, Senior Conservator of Paintings at National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK (Sent 15/09/08)

Correspondence with Janet Tamblin, Keeper of Conservation at Plymouth City Museum & Art Gallery, Plymouth, UK (Sent 07/11/05)

Correspondence with Carolyn T. Thum, former Associate Registrar at The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, USA (Sent 04/10/05)

Correspondence with Carolyn T. Thum, former Associate Registrar at The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, USA (Sent 13/10/05)

Correspondence with Carolyn T. Thum, former Associate Registrar at The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, USA (Sent 31/10/05)

Correspondence with Carolyn T. Thum, former Associate Registrar at The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, USA (Sent 22/05/08)

Correspondence with Bruce Tozer, Property Manager at The Holburne Museum, Bath, UK (Sent 12/12/05)

Correspondence with David Trevivian, Visitor Services and Security Officer at Penlee House Gallery & Museum, Penzance, UK (Sent 18/01/06)

Correspondence with Mark Trodd, Health, Safety and Security Adviser at Tate, London, UK (Sent 08/11/05)

Correspondence with Nicola Waghorn, Information Officer at National Gallery, London, UK, (Sent 24/03/06)

Correspondence with Leeanne Westwood, Senior Museum Assistant at Valence House Museum, Dagenham, UK (Sent 13/09/05)

Correspondence with Leeanne Westwood, Senior Museum Assistant at Valence House Museum, Dagenham, UK (Sent 23/01/08)

Correspondence with Julian Whitehead, Security Advisor at Historic Royal Palaces, UK (Sent 30/08/06)

Correspondence with Martin Wyld, Director of Conservation at National Gallery, London, UK (Sent 09/11/05)

Correspondence with Tate Liverpool representative who wished to remain anonymous, (Sent 03/11/05)

Online Sources

Authored Sources

Allen, Peter: 'Art Lover Faces Fine for Kissing Painting', *News. Telegraph*, 23rd July 2007, www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2007/07/23/wart123.xml, (Consulted 16/08/07)

Alvarez, Andrew: 'Please Touch: The Use of Tactile Learning in Art Exhibits', Conference Paper Given at 'From Content to Play: Family-Oriented Interactive Spaces in Art and History Museums', J. Paul Getty Museum Symposium, 4th-5th June 2005, *J. Paul Getty Museum Website*, www.getty.edu/education/symposium/Alvarez.pdf, (Consulted 21/01/08)

Antlfinger, Carrie: '17th Century Oil Painting Attacked by Milwaukee Museum Visitor', *FindLaw*, 5th April 2007, <http://news.findlaw.com/ap/o/51/04-05-2007/0fee000c86713ea2.html>, (Consulted 09/04/07)

Artner, Alan G.: 'For Iconoclasts, Art Vandalism is an Expression', *Chicago Tribune*, 14th October 2007, www.chicagotribune.com/entertainment/chi-1014_vandals_qqoct14,1,806297.story, (Consulted 15/10/07)

Blume, Mary: '“Becoming Mona Lisa”: A Historian Talks about an Artwork made Pop Icon', *International Herald Tribune*, 24th July 2007, www.ihl.com/articles/2007/07/23/arts/blume.php, (Consulted 14/05/08)

Borland, Sophie and Reynolds, Nigel: 'Seized 'Art Porn' Owned by Sir Elton John', *News. Telegraph*, 25th September 2007, www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2007/09/25/nbaltic125.xml, (Consulted 25/09/07)

Bowker, Hillary: 'Young Artists Making a 'Sensation' in London', *CNN.com*, 26th October 1997, www.cnn.com/WORLD/9710/26/brit.shock.art/, (Consulted 28/04/06)

Bratton, Chris: "“I see a new, pervasive and global condition of fundamentalist violence directed against dissident images and thought”", *The Art Newspaper Website*, 8th May 2008, www.theartnewspaper.com/article.asp?id=7887, (Consulted 15/05/08)

Cassar, May: 'Serving Food and Drink at Events in Museums: Fact Sheet for the Museums & Galleries Commission', *Museums, Libraries and Archives Council Website*, www.mla.gov.uk/resources/assets/M/mgc_fooddrink_pdf_4699.pdf, (Consulted 28/01/08)

Criminal Record Office: 'Police Poster Warning of Suffragette Attacks on Public Art Treasures', 10th May 1914, *Royal Academy Website*, www.royalacademy.org.uk/files/suff_posterAjsTfP.jpg, (Consulted 20/03/06)

Delves Broughton, Philip: 'Thief's Mother Destroys \$2.7b Art Haul', *The Age*, 17th May 2002, www.theage.com.au/articles/2002/05/16/1021544048369.html, (Consulted 19/05/02)

Dillon, Brian: 'Seven Faces of the Art Vandal', *Tate Etc.*, Issue 2, Autumn 2004, www.tate.org.uk/tateetc/issue2/sevenfacesartvandal.htm, (Consulted 24/06/05)

Dixon, E.F.: 'Police Report Recording the Damage to Sargent's Portrait of Henry James', 4th May 1914, *Royal Academy Website*, www.royalacademy.org.uk/files/suff7zD4Z1.jpg, (Consulted 20/03/06)

Dorment, Richard: 'Comment: Let Artists Follow their Instincts', *News. Telegraph*, 25th September 2007, www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2007/09/25/nbaltic225.xml, (Consulted 25/09/07)

Esman, Abigail: 'Letter from the Lowlands', *Artnet News*, 10th April 1997, www.artnet.com/Magazine/reviews/esman/esman4-10-97.asp, (Consulted 11/06/07)

Freemantle, Rosie: 'Glazing Over: A Review of Glazing Options for Works of Art on Paper', *Tate Papers*, Spring 2005, www.tate.org.uk/research/tateresearch/tatepapers/05spring/freemantle.htm, (Consulted 13/03/08)

Gilchrist, Kate: 'Does Blasphemy Exist? God Does Not Live in Victoria', *Arts Law Centre of Australia Online*, www.artslaw.com.au/publications/Articles/97Blasphemy.asp, (Consulted 05/08/08)

Goss, Steven: 'A Partial Guide to the Tools of Art Vandalism', *Cabinet Magazine*, Issue 3, Summer 2001, www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/3/toolsofartvandalism.php, (Consulted 23/09/05)

Hastings, Chris: 'Revealed: How Rowdy Schoolboys Knocked a Leg off one of the Elgin Marbles', *News. Telegraph*, 15th May 2005, www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2005/05/15/nelg15.xml&sSheet=/news/2005/05/15/ixhome.html, (Consulted 05/09/05)

Hastings, Chris: 'Vandals Sack Glories of Ancient Egypt', *News. Telegraph*, 8th October 2006, www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2006/10/08/nmuseum08.xml, (Consulted 13/10/06)

Heilenman, Diane: 'Attacks on Art through the Decades', *Courier-Journal*, 2nd December 2007, www.courier-journal.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20071202/SCENE05/712020348/1011, (Consulted 19/12/07)

Heilenman, Diane: 'Why Vandalize Art?', *The Courier-Journal*, 2nd December 2007, www.courier-journal.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20071202/SCENE05/712020310, (Consulted 19/12/07)

Holmes, C.J.: 'Report by C.J. Holmes, Director of the National Portrait Gallery', 18th July 1914, National Portrait Gallery Archive NPG 968, *National Portrait Gallery Website*, www.npg.org.uk/live/rp968ba.asp, (Consulted 20/03/06)

The Home Office: 'Tackling Vandalism and Other Criminal Damage', January 2006, *The Home Office Website*, www.crimereduction.homeoffice.gov.uk/vandalism01a.pdf, (Consulted 11/01/08)

Hughes, Robert: 'Buddha Bashing', *Time.Com*, 19th March 2001, www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,999468,00.html, (Consulted 22/08/07)

Hughes, Robert: 'Striking at the Past Itself', *Time.Com*, 7th June 1993, www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,978662,00.html, (Consulted 11/06/07)

Jones, Jonathan: 'Art is the Religion of the Modern World', *Guardian Unlimited: Arts Blog*, 25th July 2007, http://blogs.guardian.co.uk/art/2007/07/art_is_the_religion_of_the_mod.html, (Consulted 16/08/07)

Kimmelman, Michael: 'History's Long, Dark Shadow at Berlin Show', *New York Times*, 27th September 2004, www.nytimes.com/2004/09/27/arts/design/27flic.html, (Consulted 27/09/04)

Kishkovsky, Sophia: 'Sakharov Museum in Moscow Falls on Hard Times', *International Herald Tribune*, 2nd October 2007, www.ihf.com/articles/2007/10/02/africa/moscow.php?WT.mc_id=rsseurope, (Consulted 07/10/07)

Kisluk, Anna: 'Stolen Art and the Art Loss Register', Conference Paper Given at 'Art Crime: Protecting Art, Protecting Artists and Protecting Consumers', Australian Institute of Criminology, Sydney, 2nd-3rd December 1999, *Australian Institute of Criminology Website*, www.aic.gov.au/conferences/artcrime/kisluk.pdf, (Consulted 11/12/08)

Kjerschow, Elsebet: 'The Conservation of *The Scream* and *Madonna*', *The Munch Museum Website*, June 2007, www.munch.museum.no/media/docs/21-06-2007-zrsSHqQXTpFjdkF.pdf, (Consulted 21/01/08)

Loof, Susanna: 'Lichtenstein Painting Slashed in Austria', *ABC News*, 4th September 2005, <http://abcnews.go.com/Entertainment/print?id=1096786>, (Consulted 12/09/05)

Madoff, Steven Henry: 'Shock for Shock's Sake', *CNN.com*, 4th October 1999, www.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/time/1999/10/04/sensation.html, (Consulted 28/04/06)

McGregor, Glen: 'Visitors Damage to Art at National Gallery Costing Hundreds of Thousands', *Victoria Times Colonist*, 1st September 2008, www.canada.com/victoriaticolonist/story.html?id=dea9523f-4ca1-4461-827d-cb92ee0cf9f0, (Consulted 08/09/08)

Mellgren, Doug: 'Museum Fears Munch Work Damaged in Theft', *ABC News*, 21st December 2006, <http://abcnews.go.com/Entertainment/wireStory?id=2743080>, (Consulted 23/12/06)

Morrow, Lance: 'Whose Art in Heaven?', *Time.Com*, 5th March 2001, www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,101444,00.html, (Consulted 22/08/07)

Narins, Pamela: 'Choosing the Right Administration Method for your Research', *Ryerson University, Toronto*, www.ryerson.ca/~mjoppe/ResearchProcess/AdministrationMethod.htm, (Consulted 11/11/05)

Narins, Pamela: 'Three Keys to Survey Administration Success', *Ryerson University, Toronto*, www.ryerson.ca/~mjoppe/ResearchProcess/ThreeKeys.htm, (Consulted 11/11/05)

Norris, Michele: '“Hang-and-Run” Artist Strikes NYC Museums', *NPR*, 24th March 2005, www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=4559961, (Consulted 13/10/05)

O'Connor, Anne-Marie: 'Guns Guard Damien Hirst's Lamb at BCAM', *Los Angeles Times*, 31st May 2008, www.latimes.com/entertainment/news/la-et-guns31-2008may31,0,3271182.story?track=ntothtml, (Consulted 22/09/08)

Peck, Sally: 'Vandals Punch Hole in Monet in Paris Museum', *News. Telegraph*, 9th October 2007, www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2007/10/08/wmonet108.xml, (Consulted 11/10/07)

Phibbs, Hugh: 'Anti-Reflective Glass and Acrylic for Preservation Framing', *Picture Framing Magazine*, May 2003, www.pictureframingmagazine.com/pdfs/prespract/may03_dppreservation.pdf, (Consulted 13/03/08)

Povoledo, Elisabetta: 'Venice Shaken by Vandalism Spree', *International Herald Tribune*, 2nd July 2004, www.ihb.com/bin/print.php?file=527642.html, (Consulted 07/07/04)

Rollin, George C.: 'Letter from George C. Rollin, Restorer, to J.D. Milner, Director of the National Portrait Gallery', 6th December 1924, National Portrait Gallery Archive NPG 1767, *National Portrait Gallery Website*, www.npg.org.uk/live/rp1767ba.asp, (Consulted 20/03/06)

Samuel, Eugenie: 'Atomic "Airbrush" Could Save Fire-Damaged Monet', *NewScientist.com*, 23rd November 2001, www.newscientist.com/article.ns?id=dn1592, (Consulted 18/05/06)

Smith, Nancy B.: 'Reader's Companion to U.S. Women's History: Guerrilla Girls', http://college.hmco.com/history/readerscomp/women/html/wh_015400_guerrillagirl.htm, (Consulted 23/09/05)

Walters, Tate: 'Oslo Museum to Show Recovered Munch Works', *United Press International*, 25th September 2006, www.upi.com/NewsTrack/view.php?StoryID=20060925-041535-4768r, (Consulted 06/10/06)

Waters, Darren: 'Protecting the World's Art Treasures', *BBC News*, 30th September 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/arts/4289668.stm>, (Consulted 08/05/08)

Anonymous Sources

'About the Conservation of The Scream and Madonna', *The Munch Museum Website*, www.munch.museum.no/content.aspx?id=67, (Consulted 21/01/08)

'Air to "Guard Michelangelo David"', *BBC News*, 3rd January 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/4144261.stm>, (Consulted 15/05/08)

'Amsterdam Museum Re-opens After Attack on Painting', *Yahoo! News*, 26th June 2006, http://news.yahoo.com/s/afp/20060626/ennew_afp/afpentertainmentartnetherlnds_museum, (Consulted 29/06/06)

'Art Exhibit in Child Porn Probe', *BBC News*, 24th September 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/england/tyne/7011230.stm>, (Consulted 25/09/07)

'The Art Loss Register: History and Business', *The Art Loss Register Website*, www.artloss.com/content/history-and-business, (Consulted 05/12/08)

- ‘Art Lovers Fall into Tate’s Crack’, *BBC News*, 10th October 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/7037536.stm>, (Consulted 11/10/07)
- ‘‘Art Porn’ Image Gallery has 3 Explicit Shows’, *News. Telegraph*, 25th September 2007, www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2007/09/25/nbaltic325.xml, (Consulted 25/09/07)
- ‘Art Protesters E-mail Swedish PM’, *CNN.com*, 27th January 2004, <http://edition.cnn.com/2004/WORLD/europe/01/27/sweden.israel.ap/index.html>, (Consulted 19/05/06)
- ‘Art Show Vandals Caught on Camera’, *KTVB News*, 15th June 2006, www.ktva.com/portlet/article/html/fragments/print_article.jsp?article=3941539, (Consulted 19/06/06)
- ‘Art ‘Stolen to Order’ in Russia’, *BBC News*, 25th April 2002, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/1950238.stm>, (Consulted 23/01/08)
- ‘Art Thief Jailed for Four Years’, *BBC News*, 7th February 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/2736351.stm>, (Consulted 08/05/08)
- ‘Art Thieves Snatch Scream’, *BBC On This Day*, 12th February 1994, http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/february/12/newsid_3591000/3591994.stm, (Consulted 08/05/08)
- ‘Art World Reacts to Turner List’, *BBC News*, 30th May 2001, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/1360392.stm>, (Consulted 18/04/07)
- ‘Artist Severs Finger in Kidnap Protest’, *BBC News*, 11th June 2002, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/2039461.stm>, (Consulted 28/04/06)
- ‘Artwork Smoocher Tried in France’, *BBC News*, 10th October 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/7037833.stm>, (Consulted 15/10/07)
- ‘At Home with Art – Evaluation Report’, 2001, *Orleans House Gallery Website*, www.richmond.gov.uk/at_home_with_art_evaluation_report.pdf, (Consulted 17/01/08)
- ‘Attack on Urinal Work Brings Fine’, *BBC News*, 24th January 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/4644032.stm>, (Consulted 29/01/06)
- ‘Away from the Flock’, *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, <http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/hirst.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)

- 'Beckham Exhibition Photo Defaced', *BBC News*, 30th June 2004,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/entertainment/3850981.stm>, (Consulted 23/03/06)
- 'Beckham Portrait is Defaced', *CNN.com*, 30th June 2004,
<http://edition.cnn.com/2004/WORLD/europe/06/30/uk.beckham>, (Consulted 23/03/06)
- 'Berlin Flick Show Stirs Controversy', *BBC News*, 23rd September 2004,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/3680302.stm>, (Consulted 11/06/07)
- 'Bid to Deface Jackson Art Fails', *BBC News*, 2nd December 2004,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/arts/4060919.stm>, (Consulted 23/03/06)
- 'Bush Defies Critics on UK Visit', *BBC News*, 19th November 2003,
http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/uk_politics/3285357.stm, (Consulted 03/05/07)
- 'Call for Tougher Penalties for Art Vandals', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 9th October 2007, www.smh.com.au/articles/2007/10/08/1191695822628.html,
(Consulted 11/10/07)
- 'Can Italy be Saved from Itself?', *Time.Com*, 5th June 1972,
www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,905967,00.html, (Consulted 22/08/07)
- 'Cathedral', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*,
<http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/newman.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)
- 'Cave Art Hoax Hits British Museum', *BBC News*, 19th May 2005,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/arts/4563751.stm>, (Consulted 13/05/08)
- 'The Vandal Attacks Christ Image', *BBC News*, 1st August 2006,
http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/scotland/glasgow_and_west/5235666.stm,
(Consulted 01/08/06)
- 'Child Porn Inquiry over Artwork', *BBC News*, 25th September 2007,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/england/tyne/7011825.stm>, (Consulted 25/09/07)
- 'Chinese Vases', *The Fitzwilliam Museum Website*,
www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/chinesevases/, (Consulted 06/09/07)
- 'Chocolate Jesus Bites the Dust', *CBS News*, 30th March 2007,
www.cbsnews.com/stories/2007/03/30/entertainment/printable2629740.shtml,
(Consulted 11/06/07)

‘Chocolate Jesus Exhibit Cancelled’, *BBC News*, 31st March 2007,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/americas/6513155.stm>, (Consulted 11/06/07)

The Cleveland Museum of Art Website, www.clevelandart.org, (Consulted 16/10/05)

‘Cluster Sampling’, *Ryerson University, Toronto*,
www.ryerson.ca/~mjoppe/ResearchProcess/ClusterSampling.htm, (Consulted 11/11/05)

‘Conservation Live’, *National Galleries of Scotland Website*,
www.nationalgalleries.org/research/project/7:263/445/, (Consulted 11/09/08)

‘Conserving Art’, *The Fitzwilliam Museum Website*,
www.fitzwilliam.cam.ac.uk/gallery/chinesevases/conserving_art/, (Consulted 10/12/07)

‘Controversial Artist Kantor Returns to Toronto for New Year’s Benefit’, *CBC News*, 29th December 2004,
www.cbc.ca/story/arts/national/2004/12/29/Arts/kantorneyear041229.html,
 (Consulted 23/03/06)

‘Controversial Duo on Turner List’, *BBC News*, 29th May 2003,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/arts/2946040.stm>, (Consulted 19/05/06)

‘Creed Lights up Turner Prize’, *BBC News*, 10th December 2001,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/1698032.stm>, (Consulted 18/04/07)

‘Critics Split over Turner Winner’, *BBC News*, 10th December 2001,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/1701400.stm>, (Consulted 18/04/07)

‘Damages Dismissed Against Attacker of Duchamp Urinal’, *CBC News*, 9th February 2007, www.cbc.ca/news/story/2007/02/09/urinal-duchamp-court.html,
 (Consulted 11/06/07)

‘Danaë’, *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*,
<http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/rembrandt2.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)

‘Detailed Record of the Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Tate Gallery’, 14th July 2005, *Tate Website*,
www.tate.org.uk/abouttate/tatetrustees_minutes_072005.pdf, (Consulted 14/05/08)

‘Discover the New Art Gallery Walsall’, *BBC Website*,
www.bbc.co.uk/blackcountry/culture/2003/01/the_new_art_gallery_walsall.shtml,
 (Consulted 17/01/08)

'Dozens at Anti-War Demonstration', *BBC News*, 24th April 2005,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/england/oxfordshire/4475039.stm>, (Consulted 02/05/07)

'Empty Room up for Turner Prize', *BBC News*, 6th November 2001,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/1641195.stm>, (Consulted 18/04/07)

'Exhibitions: Mission Impossible? Ethics and Choices in Conservation', *The Fitzwilliam Museum Website*,
www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/whatson/exhibitions/article.html?142, (Consulted 10/12/07)

'Exposing Sexism and Racism in Politics, the Art World, Film and More!', *Women's Issues*, <http://womensissues.about.com/cs/feminism/a/aaguerrilla.htm>,
 (Consulted 23/09/05)

'Fans Flock to Munch Museum to see Damaged Scream, Madonna', *CBC News*,
 2nd October 2006, www.cbc.ca/arts/story/2006/10/02/munch-museum-attendance.html?ref=rss, (Consulted 06/10/06)

'Fathers of Confederation Painting Vandalized', *CBC News*, 12th March 2000,
<http://cbc.ca/cgi-bin/templates/view.cgi?news/2000/03/11/peipaint000311>,
 (Consulted 18/05/06)

'Feathers Fly at Art Show', *BBC News*, 24th October 1999,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/484393.stm>, (Consulted 28/04/06)

'Femme Nue Devant le Jardin', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*,
<http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/picasso.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)

'Five Held for Questioning over Attack on Monet Canvas', *Reuters UK*, 10th
 October 2007,
<http://uk.reuters.com/article/entertainmentNews/idUKL0941142020071010>,
 (Consulted 11/10/07)

'Five Held over Paris Monet Attack', *BBC News*, 9th October 2007,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/7036375.stm>, (Consulted 11/10/07)

'Florence: An Unforeseeable Disaster and its Consequences', *The World Heritage Newsletter*, Number 8, June 1995,
<http://whc.unesco.org/news/8newseng.htm#story7>, (Consulted 11/06/07)

'La Fontaine', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*,
<http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/duchamp.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)

'La Fontaine', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*,
www.renewal.org.au/artcrime/pages/duchamp2.html, (Consulted 23/03/06)

'French Police Recover Four Paintings Stolen from Nice Museum', *International Herald Tribune*, 4th June 2008, www.ihf.com/articles/ap/2008/06/04/europe/EU-GEN-France-Art-Theft.php, (Consulted 09/06/08)

'French Woman Leaves Lipstick Kiss on \$2M Artwork', *CBC News*, 23rd July 2007, www.cbc.ca/arts/artdesign/story/2007/07/23/kiss-twombly-france.html?ref=rss, (Consulted 16/08/07)

'Frenchwoman on Trial for Vandalising Artwork with a Kiss', *Associated Free Press*, 9th October 2007, <http://afp.google.com/article/ALeqM5jG7bMpR-RtxUoFIw6mPe4zTusNcg>, (Consulted 15/10/07)

'Frenchwoman 'Raped' Artwork with Forbidden Kiss: Curator', *Yahoo! News*, 24th July 2007, <http://uk.news.yahoo.com/afp/20070724/ten-entertainment-france-us-c3b52a1.html>, (Consulted 29/07/07)

'Gang Punches Hole in Monet Work', *BBC News*, 7th October 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/7033018.stm>, (Consulted 11/10/07)

'German Art Vandal Back in Custody', *Artnet News*, 2nd August 2001, www.artnet.com/Magazine/news/artnetnews/artnetnews8-2-01.asp, (Consulted 11/06/07)

'Government Indemnity Scheme: Frequently Asked Questions', *Museums, Libraries and Archives Council Website*, www.mla.gov.uk/website/programmes/cultural_property/govt_indemnity_scheme/faq_gis/, (Consulted 28/01/08)

'Government Indemnity Scheme (GIS)', *Museums, Libraries and Archives Council Website*, www.mla.gov.uk/website/programmes/cultural_property/govt_indemnity_scheme, (Consulted 28/01/08)

'Government Indemnity Scheme: Standard Conditions', *Museums, Libraries and Archives Council Website*, www.mla.gov.uk/resources/assets/G/gis_stdcons_pdf_4690.pdf, (Consulted 16/03/08)

'Graffiti Star Sneaks Work into Tate', *BBC News*, 17th October 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/arts/3201344.stm>, (Consulted 13/05/08)

'The Guerrilla Girls', *The Guerrilla Girls Website*, www.guerrillagirls.com, (Consulted 23/09/05)

'Guide on the Action to be Taken in Cases of Theft, Criminal or Accidental Damage (Including Indemnified Material)', *Museums, Libraries and Archives Council Website*, www.mla.gov.uk/resources/assets/G/Guide_on_action_to_be_taken_10201.doc, (Consulted 28/01/08)

‘Guide to Food and Drink Conditions under the Government Indemnity Scheme’, *Museums, Libraries and Archives Council Website*, www.mla.gov.uk/resources/assets//G/Guide_to_Food_and_Drink_Conditions_10198.doc, (Consulted 28/01/08)

‘Guide to Security and Environmental Conditions under the Government Indemnity Scheme’, *Museums, Libraries and Archives Council Website*, www.mla.gov.uk/resources/assets//G/Guide_to_Security_and_Environmental_Conditions_10199.doc, (Consulted 28/01/08)

‘Guide to the Use of Barrier Rails or Ropes’, *Museums, Libraries and Archives Council Website*, www.mla.gov.uk/resources/assets//G/Guide_to_the_Use_of_Barrier_Rails_and_Ropes_10200.doc, (Consulted 21/01/08)

‘Hacker Anceaux’, *Time.Com*, 2nd March 1931, www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,741146,00.html, (Consulted 22/08/07)

‘Harbour at le Havre’, *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, <http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/duffy.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)

‘Hermitage Hit by Mystery Thieves’, *BBC News*, 1st August 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/5235148.stm>, (Consulted 23/01/08)

‘Hermitage Targeted for Theft, Again’, *CBC News*, 8th December 2006, www.cbc.ca/news/story/2006/12/08/russia-hermitage-theft.html, (Consulted 23/01/08)

‘Hermitage Thief Gets Five Years’, *BBC News*, 15th March 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/6453697.stm>, (Consulted 23/01/08)

‘Historic Vases Smashed in Stumble’, *BBC News*, 30th January 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/england/cambridgeshire/4662424.stm>, (Consulted 23/01/08)

‘The Holy Virgin Mary’, *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/c_ofili.html, (Consulted 28/04/06)

‘How Do You Fix a Smashed Antique Vase?’, *BBC News*, 14th February 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/magazine/4708494.stm>, (Consulted 23/06/06)

‘Infamous French Art Thief to Release Memoir’, *CBC News*, 2nd October 2006, www.cbc.ca/arts/story/2006/10/02/thief-book-breitwieser.html, (Consulted 08/05/08)

‘The In-Person Interview Survey’, *Ryerson University, Toronto*, www.ryerson.ca/~mjoppe/ResearchProcess/Interview.htm, (Consulted 11/11/05)

'Intruders Severely Damage Monet Painting', *ABC News*, 8th October 2007, www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2007/10/08/2053200.htm, (Consulted 11/10/07)

'Jesus Sculptures Stir Controversy', *ABC News*, 4th April 2007, www.abcnews.go.com/GMA/story?id=3006309, (Consulted 09/04/07)

'Jewish Museum Attacked in Bucharest', *BBC News*, 28th December 2000, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/1091808.stm>, (Consulted 18/05/06)

'The Lights Going On and Off', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, <http://renewal.com.au/artcrime/pages/creed.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)

'Lipstick Traces', *Art Forum.Com*, 31st July 2007, <http://artforum.com/news/week=200731>, (Consulted 25/09/07)

'London Bombings Spark Talk of Price Hikes at Italian Sites', *CBC News*, 10th August 2005, www.cbc.ca/arts/story/2005/08/10/italytourism050810.html, (Consulted 15/05/08)

'Mafia Bosses Jailed for Life', *BBC News*, 6th June 1998, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/108127.stm>, (Consulted 08/05/07)

'Man Charged over Painting Attack', *This Is London*, 7th November 2003, www.Thisislondon.co.uk/news/articles/7574067?version=1, (Consulted 25/04/06)

'Man Confesses to Attack on Masterpiece', *Expatica News*, 26th June 2006, www.expatica.com/actual/article.asp?channel_id=1&story_id=31084, (Consulted 29/06/06)

'Man Denies Thatcher Statue Charge', *BBC News*, 4th July 2002, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/2091660.stm>, (Consulted 11/06/07)

'Man Held for Hitting Urinal Work', *BBC News*, 6th January 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/4587988.stm>, (Consulted 08/01/06)

'Man Sprays Chemical on Renowned Painting in Amsterdam's Rijksmuseum', *Hoovers.com News*, 25th June 2006, www.hoovers.com/free/news/detail.xhtml?ArticleID=20060625140.5.3_3dc800, (Consulted 29/06/06)

'Man Tries to Spray Jacko Sculpture with Blood', *Independent Online*, 1st December 2004, www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=3&art_id=qw1101904920154B265, (Consulted 06/12/04)

'Margaret Thatcher', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, www.renewal.org.au/artcrime/pages/simmons.html, (Consulted 23/07/05)

'Mary 'Slasher' Richardson', *The Hastings Press*,
www.hastingspress.co.uk/history/mary.htm, (Consulted 24/06/05)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Website, www.metmuseum.org, (Consulted 02/05/07)

'Mona Lisa Gains New Louvre Home', *BBC News*, 6th April 2005,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/arts/4413303.stm>, (Consulted 24/05/06)

'Munch Paintings Back on Display', *BBC News*, 13th September 2006,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/5341376.stm>, (Consulted 05/12/07)

'Munch Paintings 'Can be Repaired'' *BBC News*, 1st September 2006,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/5305538.stm>, (Consulted 05/12/07)

'Munch's Masterpieces Back on Show', *BBC News*, 27th September 2006,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/5382848.stm>, (Consulted 05/12/07)

'Munch's Scream to go Back on Show', *BBC News*, 3rd March 2008,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/7275547.stm>, (Consulted 07/03/08)

'Murder of a Masterpiece?', *Time.Com*, 6th January 1992,
www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,974608,00.html, (Consulted 11/06/07)

'My Bed', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*,
<http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/emin.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)

'Myra', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*,
<http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/harvey.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)

'Nan Goldin: Thanksgiving', *BALTIC Centre for Contemporary Art Website*,
www.balticmill.com/whatsOn/past/ExhibitionDetail.php?exhibID=95, (Consulted 11/12/08)

'Napoleon is Bombed at Versailles', *Time.Com*, 10th July 1978,
www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,946811,00.html, (Consulted 22/08/07)

The National Gallery Website, www.nationalgallery.org.uk, (Consulted 12/02/06)

'A New Permanent Display at the National Conservation Centre', *National Museums Liverpool Website*,
www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/about/capitalprojects/conservationcentre.asp,
 (Consulted 23/01/08)

'The Nightwatch', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*,
<http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/rembrandt.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)

'No Charge for Smashed Vase Man', *BBC News*, 20th June 2006,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/england/cambridgeshire/5098362.stm>,
 (Consulted 23/06/06)

'Painting Meets its Femme Fatale', *BBC News*, 21st July 2007,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/6910377.stm>, (Consulted
 29/07/07)

'Part Painting / A Circle', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*,
http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/yoko_ono.html, (Consulted 28/04/06)

'"Passionate" Kiss Lands Art Lover in French Court', *Reuters UK*, 9th October
 2007, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/oddlyEnoughNews/idUKL0912111620071009>,
 (Consulted 15/10/07)

'Photograph of Damage to *Henry James* by John S. Sargent RA', *Royal Academy
 Website*, www.royalacademy.org.uk/files/suff_damageymKdTZ.jpg, (Consulted
 20/03/06)

'Picasso Painting Sells for \$104m', *BBC News*, 6th May 2004,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/arts/3682127.stm>, (Consulted
 11/06/07)

'Picasso Painting Vandalised in Dutch Museum', *BBC News*, 17th May 1999,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/346110.stm>, (Consulted 08/05/08)

'Piss Christ', *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*,
<http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/serrano.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)

'Policeman Damages Royal Painting', *BBC News*, 15th August 2004,
http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/uk_news/3567680.stm, (Consulted 19/05/06)

'Pop Art Painting Knifed at Museum', *BBC News*, 5th September 2005,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/arts/4214680.stm>, (Consulted
 12/09/05)

'Prankster Infiltrates NY Museums', *BBC News*, 25th March 2005,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/americas/4382245.stm>, (Consulted
 13/10/05)

'Probability Sampling Techniques', *Ryerson University, Toronto*,
www.ryerson.ca/~mjoppe/ResearchProcess/ProbabilitySampling.htm, (Consulted
 11/11/05)

'Protester 'Decapitated' Thatcher Statue', *BBC News*, 16th December 2002,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/2580097.stm>, (Consulted 11/06/07)

‘‘Pure Act of Vandalism’’: Monet Trashed’, *ABC News*, 8th October 2007,
www.abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory?id=3701138, (Consulted 15/10/07)

‘Renowned Poet’s Artwork, Touched up by Prudish Janitor, is Displayed at BGSU’, *Hoovers.com News*, 11th March 2007,
www.hoovers.com/free/news/detail.xhtml?ArticleID=200703111180.3.199_f2b,
 (Consulted 16/03/07)

‘Repeat Art Heist on French Riviera’, *ABC News*, 7th August 2007,
<http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory?id=3453725>, (Consulted 09/05/08)

‘The Restoration of the Chinese Vases’, *The Fitzwilliam Museum Website*,
www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/chinesevases/restoration.html, (Consulted
 06/09/07)

‘Reversing Vandalism – Destroyed Books Transformed into Art’, *San Francisco Public Library*, <http://sfpl.lib.ca.us/news/revvandalism.htm>, (Consulted 24/06/05)

‘Rodin String Art to be Fixed’, *BBC News*, 7th April 2003,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/arts/2920945.stm>, (Consulted
 19/05/06)

‘Rogues in the Gallery’, *Time.Com*, 7th July 1952,
www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,888740,00.html, (Consulted
 22/08/07)

The Royal Academy Website, www.royalacademy.org.uk, (Consulted 20/03/06)

‘Russians Fined in Blasphemy Case’, *BBC News*, 28th March 2005,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/4387833stm>, (Consulted
 24/05/06)

‘Scream Stolen from Norway Museum’, *BBC News*, 22nd August 2004,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/3588282.stm>, (Consulted
 08/05/08)

‘‘The Scream’ to go Back on Display after 2004 Heist’, *Associated Free Press*, 4th
 March 2008,
http://afp.google.com/article/ALeqM5hbVODYnM6RZg9VERIvzo_IhAGdGg,
 (Consulted 07/03/08)

‘Seized Elton Artwork not Indecent’, *BBC News*, 26th October 2007,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/england/tyne/7063564.stm>, (Consulted
 11/12/08)

‘The Self-Administered Survey’, *Ryerson University, Toronto*,
www.ryerson.ca/~mjoppe/ResearchProcess/SelfAdministered.htm, (Consulted
 11/11/05)

‘Self-Portrait at the Age of 63’, *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, <http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/rembrandt1.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)

‘Sensational Hit for Royal Academy’, *BBC News*, 30th December 1997, <http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/43401.stm>, (Consulted 11/06/07)

‘Sharon Praises ‘Art Vandal’ Envoy’, *BBC News*, 18th January 2004, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/3407517.stm>, (Consulted 24/06/05)

‘Simple Random Sampling’, *Ryerson University, Toronto*, www.ryerson.ca/~mjoppe/ResearchProcess/SimpleRandomSampling.htm, (Consulted 11/11/05)

‘Smashed Antique Vase Man Arrested’, *BBC News*, 5th April 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/england/cambridgeshire/4878850.stm>, (Consulted 23/06/06)

‘Smashed Vase Goes Back on Display’, *BBC News*, 7th August 2006, <http://news.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/england/cambridgeshire/5252656.stm>, (Consulted 11/08/06)

‘Smashed Vases Go Back on Display’, *BBC News*, 9th November 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/england/cambridgeshire/7087084.stm>, (Consulted 23/11/07)

‘Snow White and the Madness of Truth’, *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, <http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/feiler.html>, (Consulted 28/04/06)

‘Stratified Sampling’, *Ryerson University, Toronto*, www.ryerson.ca/~mjoppe/ResearchProcess/StratifiedSampling.htm, (Consulted 11/11/05)

‘Stolen Munch Paintings Found Safe’, *BBC News*, 31st August 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/5303200.stm>, (Consulted 05/12/07)

‘Stoppard Attacks ‘Self-Indulgent’ Art’, *BBC News*, 1st June 2001, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/1364038.stm>, (Consulted 18/04/07)

‘Storm in US over Chocolate Jesus’, *BBC News*, 30th March 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/americas/6509127.stm>, (Consulted 11/06/07)

‘Suicidal Art Thief gets 26 Months’, *BBC News*, 7th January 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/4155989.stm>, (Consulted 08/05/08)

‘Subpoena from Bow Street Police Court served on C.J. Holmes, Director of the National Portrait Gallery’, 17th July 1914, National Portrait Gallery Archive NPG 968, *National Portrait Gallery Website*, www.npg.org.uk/live/rp968.asp, (Consulted 20/03/06)

‘Suprematisme 1920-1927’, *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, www.renewal.org.au/artcrime/pages/malevich1.html, (Consulted 23/07/05)

‘The Survey System: Survey Design’, *The Survey System*, www.surveysystem.com/sdesign.htm, (Consulted 11/11/05)

‘Survey Techniques’, *Ryerson University, Toronto*, www.ryerson.ca/~mjoppe/ResearchProcess/SurveyTechniques.htm, (Consulted 11/11/05)

‘Tate Egg Protester Faces Life Ban’, *BBC News*, 12th December 2001, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/1706637.stm>, (Consulted 28/04/06)

‘The Telephone Survey’, *Ryerson University, Toronto*, www.ryerson.ca/~mjoppe/ResearchProcess/Telephone.htm, (Consulted 11/11/05)

‘Thatcher Statue Attacker Jailed’, *BBC News*, 20th February 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/uk/2779597.stm>, (Consulted 11/06/07)

‘Thatcher Statue Decapitated’, *BBC News*, 3rd July 2002, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/2091200.stm>, (Consulted 11/06/07)

‘Thatcher Statue Decapitator Guilty’, *BBC News*, 22nd January 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/2684311.stm>, (Consulted 11/06/07)

‘Thatcher Statue Protester ‘Felt Driven’’, *BBC News*, 22nd January 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/2684047.stm>, (Consulted 11/06/07)

‘Theft’, *Time.Com*, 8th August 1927, www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,730862,00.html, (Consulted 22/08/07)

‘Third Arrest over Hermitage Theft’, *BBC News*, 7th August 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/europe/5249408.stm>, (Consulted 23/01/08)

‘Thousands Protest Against Bush’, *BBC News*, 21st November 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/england/london/3223780.stm>, (Consulted 02/05/07)

‘Top Russian Museum Removes Painting after Religious Protest’, *Yahoo! News*, 6th October 2005, http://news.yahoo.com/s/afp/20051006/ennew_afp/afplifestylerussia_051006172427, (Consulted 13/10/05)

‘Turner Prize Shortlist Unveiled’, *BBC News*, 30th May 2001,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/arts/1359309.stm>, (Consulted 18/04/07)

‘United Nations – Sweden & Russia Movement: Interpol’, *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, <http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/wenda.html>,
 (Consulted 28/04/06)

‘Vandal Sentenced’, *Time.Com*, 22nd August 1927,
www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,730966,00.html, (Consulted
 22/08/07)

‘Vandals Tear Monet Painting at Musée d’Orsay in Paris’, *International Herald Tribune*, 7th October 2007, www.ihl.com/articles/2007/10/07/news/monet.php,
 (Consulted 11/10/07)

The Van Gogh Museum Website, www.vangoghmuseum.nl, (Consulted 13/06/07)

‘Various’, *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*,
http://renewal.va.com.au/artcrime/pages/various_nat_gal_vic.html, (Consulted
 28/04/06)

‘Venice Puzzled by Hammer Attacks’, *BBC News*, 30th June 2004,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/europe/3851991.stm>, (Consulted 19/05/06)

The Whitworth Art Gallery Website,
www.whitworth.manchester.ac.uk/collection/modernart/, (Consulted 17/01/08)

‘Who’s Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue III’, *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, www.renewal.org.au/artcrime/pages/newman2.html, (Consulted
 24/06/05)

‘Who’s Afraid of Red, Yellow and Blue IV’, *Art Crime: A Journal of Modern Iconoclasm*, www.renewal.org.au/artcrime/pages/newman1.html, (Consulted
 24/06/05)

‘“Windowsill” Vases Stun Visitor’, *BBC News*, 6th February 2006,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/hi/england/cambridgeshire/4685130.stm>,
 (Consulted 23/06/06)

‘Woman Damages Art Works at Controversial Berlin Exhibition’, *Expatica News*,
 23rd September 2004,
www.expatica.com/actual/article.asp?subchannel_id=52&story_id=12128,
 (Consulted 02/05/07)

‘Woman Doing Handsprings Attacks Art at German Museum’, *Chicago Sun-Times*, 24th September 2004, www.suntimes.com/output/news/cst-nws-art24.html,
 (Consulted 27/09/04)

‘Woman Faces Charges for Kissing Painting’, *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 22nd July 2007,
http://hosted.ap.org/dynamic/stories/O/ODD_FRANCE_KISSED_PAINTING?SITE=VARIT&SECTION=US&TEMPLATE=DEFAULT&CTIME=2007-07-21-14-56-17, (Consulted 29/07/07)

‘Woman Fined for Kissing Painting’, *BBC News*, 16th November 2007,
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/entertainment/7098707.stm>, (Consulted 19/12/07)

‘Worldwide Protests Mark Iraq War’, *BBC News*, 21st March 2004,
http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/1/hi/world/middle_east/3552147.stm, (Consulted 03/05/07)

‘12-year-old Sticks Gum onto \$1.5m Painting’, *USAToday.com*, 1st March 2006,
www.usatoday.com/news/offbeat/2006-03-01-painting_x.htm, (Consulted 23/03/06)

‘\$250 Fine for Ofili Vandal’, *Artnet News*, 16th November 2000,
www.artnet.com/magazine/news/artnetnews/artnetnews11-16-00.asp, (Consulted 23/03/06)